

RETHINKING THE HISTORY OF CONVERSION TO
CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN: 1549-1644

James Harry Morris

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2018

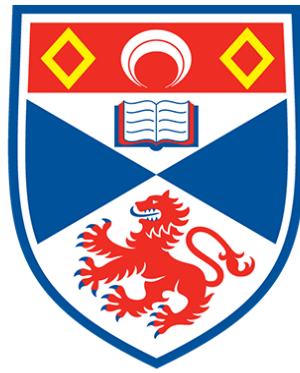
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University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

at the University of St Andrews

July 2018

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Abstract

This thesis explores the history of Christianity and conversion to it in 16th and 17th Century Japan. It argues that conversion is a complex phenomenon which happened for a variety of reasons. Furthermore, it argues that due to the political context and limitations acting upon the mission, the majority of conversions in 16th and 17th Century Japan lacked an element of epistemological change (classically understood). The first chapter explores theories of conversion suggesting that conversion in 16th and 17th Century Japan included sorts of religious change not usually encapsulated in the term conversion including adhesion, communal and forced conversion. Moreover, it argues that contextual factors are the most important factors in religious change. The second chapter explores political context contending that it was the political environment of Japan that ultimately decided whether conversion was possible. This chapter charts the evolution of the Japanese context as it became more hostile toward Christianity. In the third chapter, the context of the mission is explored. It is argued that limitations acting upon the mission shaped post-conversion faith, so that changes to practice and ritual rather than belief became the mark of a successful conversion. The fourth chapter explores methods of conversion, the factors influencing it, and post-conversion faith more directly. It argues that Christianity spread primarily through social networks, but that conversion was also influenced by economic incentive, other real-world benefits, and Christianity's perceived efficacy. Building on Chapter Three, the final chapter also seeks to illustrate that the missionaries were not successful in their attempts to spur epistemological change or instil a detailed knowledge of theology or doctrine amongst their converts.

General Acknowledgements

There are innumerable people who must be thanked for their support. My supervisor, Prof. Mario Aguilar, has been an indispensable source of academic inspiration and assistance for all eight years of my University career. He is truly the most important figure in my academic formation, and I hope our friendship and academic discourse will continue for the rest of our lifetimes. At the University of St Andrews, Dr. Eric Stoddart, Prof. James Davila, Prof. Ian Bradley, and Dr. John Perry have also been instrumental in guiding me, offering opinion, and forming me theologically. Conversations with Kabir Babu, Jake Cowpland, James Ronan, Eve Parker and Dr. Andrew Torrance were also indispensably helpful. Raad Kohli must be extended the greatest thanks for critically engaging with my thoughts and aiding with Arabic and Persian. As must Lu Liyuan for provided years of Chinese language assistance, inspiration and support. I also wish to extend thanks to the staff at St Mary's College, the librarians at the University of St Andrews, and the David Russell Apartments and Fife Park Wardennial Team of which I was a member for two years.

In Japan, I must thank Dr. Norio Yamaguchi, Yuhki Fukusumi, and Miki Uehara who were all kind enough to proof read and correct materials that I prepared for fieldwork and to listen to my ideas. Brian Chiu, Steve Matsushima, Aaron Shorb and Joe Mignano must also be thanked for their eternal help and friendship. Those who helped me during my time at Sophia University (especially the staff in Kirishitan Bunko), the staff at Keio University Hiyoshi Campus Library, University of Tokyo Faculty of Letters Library, Tokyo Woman's Christian University Library, Ōtawara City Library, Kurobane Town Library, Aizuwakamatsu City Library, Fukushima Prefectural Library, Fujisawa Town Library, and Sendai City Library must also be thanked. I would like to extend thanks to those at the Imaikan Kyōyūkai and Ōkago Kirishitan Shiryōkan who provided me with a large array of resources and intellectual assistance. I also wish to thank the staff at Nanzan University's Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, particularly Prof. Okuyama Michiaki, Prof. James W. Heisig, and Prof. Joseph S. O'Leary, who were kind enough to grant me a short-term visiting research post and discuss my work. Dr. Takano Katsuhiko and Dr. Ishihara Mari of the National Institute of Technology, Fukushima College must also be thanked for assisting me with classical Japanese when I was struggling. Finally, I would like to extend thanks to those who agreed to be interviewed, including members of the Nakamachi, Kamichō, and Tamachi Taikō groups in Ōtawara, Yabuki Norihisa (and his family), Ueda Ken (and his family), Takano Shōkyō, Hara Sōmyō, Ugajin Naoto, Nakazono Shigeo, Yuhki Fukusumi, Brian Chiu, Senbo Kazuo, staff at the Imaikan Kyōyūkai, and the priests and staff at several of Ōtawara's Churches.

I am also indebted to Prof. Max Deeg, Dr. Li Tang, Prof. Notto R. Thelle, Dr. Stephen Turnbull, Prof. John Dougill, Dr. John Lehr, and Patrick Murphy who have all answered questions or discussed matters via e-mail. I must also thank all those who have provided me with opportunities to present papers and publish, especially Prof. John Chesworth, Prof.

Douglas Pratt and other people involved in the project *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*.

Finally, I want to say that I am eternally grateful for the moral (and often financial) support offered by my parents (Shona and Doug) and brother (Callum), who listen to my woes of which there have been many and bear with my budding ideas. Thank you truly.

Funding

This work was supported by the Spalding Trust; the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church; the Russell Trust; the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee [grant number 5810416]; the University of St Andrews (School of Divinity); and the Royal Historical Society.

Introduction

This thesis explores conversion to Christianity in Japan during the 16th and 17th Centuries. It argues that conversion in Japan cannot be simplified to the issue of the acceptance or rejection of the Judeo-Christian God, but rather seeks to illustrate that conversion was a complex process rooted in the experience of different communities and changing contexts. The thesis rejects traditional conceptions of religious change that distinguish between “conversion” and “adhesion” suggesting that these categorizations fail to adequately describe the sort of religious change which occurred during the period. Finally, it seeks to illustrate that conversion was limited and spurred by overlapping and interacting political, socio-economic, and religious contexts.

Chapter One is a literature review of scholarship on both conversion theory and the history of Christianity in Japan. It suggests that conversion is an incredibly complex phenomenon, occurring for a plethora of reasons, and best understood with an interdisciplinary approach which uses theories from history, psychology, the social sciences and theology. It argues that an exploration of conversion in the Japanese context must contend with Japanese understandings encapsulated in the term *kaishū* 改宗. The chapter explores some of the reasons behind changes to people’s religious affiliation and practice, placing focus on the context of conversion. It offers a non-exclusive model of religious change which includes conversion, adhesion, communal and forced religious change.

The second chapter explores the Jesuits' arrival in Japan and the changing political context of the country during the 16th and 17th Centuries. The chapter investigates the ways in which a context already hostile to the missionaries developed to proscribe Christianity and ban the missionaries. It does so by focusing on the increasingly harsh, anti-Christian policies of successive Japanese leaders. Simultaneously, the chapter seeks to explain these policies by contextualizing them, arguing that they resulted from the consolidation of political power, fears of colonization, the actions of missionaries, and a series of scandals linked to Christians. The chapter seeks to illustrate that the most important factor governing conversion in the period was the Japanese political context and the legal right (or lack thereof) to convert.

The third chapter explores the mission's context. Attention is given to the limitations of the missionary enterprise, and it is argued that although the mission made a sizeable number of converts, it was unable to instil widespread theological and doctrinal information. The reasons for this include the ratio of missionary personnel to converts, the language capabilities of missionary personnel and their Japanese counterparts, and the geographic spread of the missionaries. The income of the mission and the resources at the disposal of the missionaries such as written materials and art work are also explored. Together with these limitations the chapter explores the reforms instated to address them. Although the chapter does not deny that the reforms reduced the mission's limitations, it argues that they were insufficient, and therefore that the mission experienced the same problems at its close as it did at its genesis.

The final chapter focuses on conversion in the period, what forms it took and the factors that spurred it. As communal conversions were numerous, the chapter starts with an exploration of this phenomenon. The chapter argues that Christianity primarily spread through social networks; political, familial, and amiable in nature. However, it also argues that politico-economic incentive, the real-world benefits of conversion, the testing of the efficacy of supernatural claims, and the potentially deviant nature of conversion were factors influencing converts in the period. The chapter also explores post-conversion religious practice strengthening the thesis of Chapter Three by providing further evidence that the missionaries failed to bring about epistemological change in most of their converts.

The conclusion summarizes the findings of the thesis on a chapter by chapter basis, and restates the overall chapter-transcending themes and concepts laid out throughout the thesis. Moreover, it seeks to ask where the thesis is situated amongst other academic literature on the topic, and in what school of thought it is positioned. Finally, the conclusion offers some retrospective commentary on the limitations and efficacy of the approach taken within the thesis.

Following the thesis is an appendix. The first part of the appendix includes five documents referred to in the thesis. The documents are provided in Japanese form followed by their English translations. Two of the documents have previously been translated into English and therefore these translations are quoted. The other three documents have not previously been translated into English, and therefore the appendix offers tentative, but potentially useful translations of these texts. Following the translations is an addendum,

which questions the traditional presupposition that Christianity came to Japan with the Jesuits in 1549CE by exploring when the first mission and conversions to Christianity began. Here the claims of scholars such as P. Y. Saeki, who argue that Syriac Christians came to Japan from the 7th Century, are assessed. The addendum offers a rereading of commonly accepted Japanese Christian history, suggesting that Christians arrived prior to the Jesuit mission, but that it is unlikely that there was an official mission or Japanese converts. Building on work published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Oriens Christianus*, and other journals, the addendum argues that a continued rereading of Japanese Christian history and the assumptions made by scholars in the field is necessary to understand Japan's interactions with Syriac Christianity and Japan's pre-modern history.

Chapter One

Theories of Conversion and the Study of the History of Christianity in Japan

The topic of religious conversion has inspired centuries long cross-disciplinary debate, in which theologians, historians, social-scientists, and psychologists have sought to explain how and why peoples' religious convictions change.¹ Meanwhile, Japanese historians and scholars of religion seek to explore these questions within Japanese contexts by asking how and why the Japanese, at different historical points, have or have not chosen to convert to Christianity. This chapter provides a review of the scholarship on the history of Christianity in Japan during the period covered in this study. Secondly, the chapter will outline definitions and theories of conversion applicable to Japan in order to present the theoretical framework used herein.

¹ Kim, *Understanding Religious Conversion: The Case of Saint Augustine*, 1-94.

The History of Christianity in Japan

The history of Christianity in Japan has traditionally been divided into two or three periods. Doron B. Cohen notes the existence of two periods; the *Kirishitan* (Christian) Century (*Kirishitan seiki* キリシタン世紀)² covering the 16th and 17th Century Catholic missions to Japan, and the history of Christianity following the arrival of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Orthodoxy from 1859 onwards.³ Other scholars such as Atsuyoshi Fujiwara have divided the second period into two focusing on the pre-Second World War (1859-1945) and post-Second World War (1945 to the present) missions.⁴ Mark Mullins's recent four volume series, *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan*, also follows this three period division.⁵ His 2003 *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*,⁶ however, divides the modern period further with chapters focusing on the introduction of Protestantism and Orthodoxy, and reintroduction of Catholicism in the *Bakumatsu* 幕末 (1853-1873) and early Meiji period (*Meiji jidai* 明治時代, 1868-1912),⁷ Christianity under Japan's imperial governance (1895-

² Also known as the *Kirishitan no seiki* キリシタンの世紀 or *Kirishitan jidai* キリシタン時代.

³ Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible: History, Inventory and Analysis*, 7-10. Ebisawa Arimichi follows a two period model in his *Nihon Katorikkushi* 日本カトリック史. Ebisawa and Ōuchi, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*, 11-126. This division is also followed by Samuel Hugh Moffett. Moffett, *The History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 1500-1900, 68-104, 502-527.

⁴ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context: A Believers Church Perspective*, xii, 208-360. Such a division follows Japanese historical divisions of *Kinsei* 近世 (Early Modern Period), *Kindai* 近代 (Modern Period), and *Gendai* 現代 (Present Day) or *Sengo* 戦後 (post-War). Some Japanese scholars also use this division, see: Shiono, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi o yomu*.

⁵ Mullins ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan*. 4 vols.

⁶ Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*.

⁷ Ballhatchet, "The Modern Missionary Movement in Japan: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox," 35-68.

1945),⁸ and the post-War period.⁹ Mullins's *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* provides a more detailed division of the modern period based on ecclesial, political, and social developments,¹⁰ as does Ōuchi Saburō's *Nihon Purotesutantosshi* 日本プロテスタント史, which divides the modern period along historical-political lines using the Meiji, Taishō 大正, War, and post-War periods as divisions.¹¹ Based on theological developments Yasuo Furuya's *A History of Japanese Theology* provides a generational model dividing the history of Christianity from the Meiji period into four generations.¹² Scholars of the *Kirishitan* Century have also provided more detailed historical divisions for exploring the history of the *Kirishitan* 切支丹;¹³ a period of growth (*Hatten no jidai* 発展の時代, 1549-1614), a period of persecution and hiding (*Junkyō to senpuku no jidai* 殉教と潜伏の時代, 1614-1873), and the restoration of mission

⁸ Ion, "The Cross Under an Imperial Sun: Imperialism, Nationalism, and Japanese Christianity, 1895-1945," 69-100.

⁹ Sherrill, "Christian Churches in the Postwar Period," 163-180.

¹⁰ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements*, 11-30. Nakamura Satoshi also provides a detailed subdivision Protestant history in Japan. Nakamura, *Nihon Kirisutokyō Senkyōshi: Zabieru izen kara kyō made*.

¹¹ Ebisawa and Ōuchi, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*, 127-622. Ono Shizuo uses similar political divisions basing his history on the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa 昭和 periods. Ono, *Nihon Purotesutanto Kyōkaishi*. 2 vols.

¹² Furuya, ed., *A History of Japanese Theology*.

¹³ The term comes from the Portuguese, *Christão/Cristão*. Various characterizations have been used (mostly dating from after Christianity's proscription) including 幾利紫旦, 貴理志端, 鬼利至端, 貴理死貪, and 切死丹. Originally rendered 吉利支丹, the spelling was changed to 切支丹 because the character *kichi* 吉 appeared in the name of Shogun (*Shōgun* 將軍), Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646-1709CE) who did not wish to be linked to Christianity. In recent years the term has been rendered in *katakana* (カタカナ・片仮名) as キリシタン allowing scholars to distinguish between the *Kirishitan* and their modern descendants (*Kakure Kirishitan* カクレキリシタン), and between the *Kirishitan* and modern day Japanese Christians and Christianity. Murayama-Cain, "The Bible in Imperial Japan, 1850-1950," 18, n. 15; Shinmura ed., *Kōjien*, 591; Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 5; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 17-18; Miyazaki "Kakure Kirishitan no koshō ni tsuite," 3-4; Miyazaki, "Seikatsu shūkyō toshite no Kirishitan shinkō," 243-244.

(*Fukkatsu no jidai* 復活の時代, 1873-).¹⁴ Another division for application to the *Kirishitan* Century proper has been forwarded by Ikuo Higashibaba who divides the *Kirishitan* Century into three ideal periods; from 1549-1580 when the mission was constrained by its limitations, from 1580-1614 when the mission was reformed reducing the limitations acting upon it, and from 1614-1639 when the mission was marked by persecution and martyrdom.¹⁵ Some scholars such as P. Y. Saeki, E. A. Gordon, and more recently John C. England have theorized the existence of other Christian missions at various points between the Asuka 飛鳥 (538-710CE) and Kamakura 鎌倉 (1185-1333CE) periods,¹⁶ which will be discussed in the addendum.

The foregoing divisions and subdivisions are grounded in changes to Japan's political, socio-economic or theological contexts, and therefore provide useful points of departure to begin a history on the topic depending on a given study's focus. This thesis explores the history of conversion to Christianity during the *Kirishitan* Century. Most scholars date the

¹⁴ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 3-4. A similar model is provided by Miyazaki Kentarō. Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 4-5; Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan: Orasho – tamashi no tsūsō teion*, 18-21.

¹⁵ Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 75.

¹⁶ Notable works include: Saeki, "Uzumasa o ronzu," 168-185; Saeki, *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*; Saeki, *Keikyō no kenkyū*; Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*; Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*; Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel; or Mahayana Buddhism and its Symbolic Teachings Compared Historically and Geographically with those of Catholic Christianity*; England, "The Earliest Christian Communities in Southeast and Northeast Asia: An Outline of the Evidence Available in Seven Countries Before A.D. 1500," 209; England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia: The Churches of the East before 1500*; 105-107. I have discussed this at length in the following papers: Morris, "Rereading the evidence of the earliest Christian communities in East Asia during and prior to the Táng Period," 252-264; Morris, "The Case for Christian Missionary Activity in Japan prior to the 16th Century," 109-137; Morris "The Figures of Kōho and Li-mi-i, and the Origins of the Case for a Christian Missionary Presence in Tenpyō Era Japan," 313-323; Morris "The Legacy of Peter Yoshirō Saeki: Evidence of Christianity in Japan before the Arrival of Europeans," 1-22; Morris, "The Presence of *Jīngjiào* in Japan as explored by Ikeda Sakae," 255-266.

beginning of the period to the arrival of Francis Xavier (1506-1552CE) and his party in 1549, although it could be argued that the period began in the early 1540s with the start of Portuguese-Japanese relations.¹⁷ Despite this, scholars diverge on dating the end of the period. Charles Boxer's 1951 work, *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650*,¹⁸ ends the period in 1650, whereas George Elison's (Jurgis Elisonas) 1973, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*,¹⁹ dates the close of the period to 1639 when Iberian-Japanese interactions ended.²⁰ Nevertheless, both Boxer and Elison explore events beyond their proposed end dates.²¹ Léon Pagès classical three volume study, *Histoire de la religion Chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651*,²² which focuses on anti-Kirishitan persecution, covers the period 1598 to 1651. Some studies such as Kataoka Yakichi's exhaustive *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi* 日本キリシタン殉教史²³ and Ebisawa Arimichi's *Nihon Katorikkushi* 日本カトリック史²⁴ cover *Kirishitan* history until the early Meiji period, but this is due to a focus on the history of the *Kirishitan* religion rather than the *Kirishitan* Century. In congruence with Boxer and Elison, Ebisawa dates the end of the *Kirishitan*

¹⁷ Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible: History, Inventory and Analysis*, 8 and 8, n. 8. James Murdoch exploring early Japanese-Western interactions more generally provides the dating of 1542-1651CE. Murdoch with Yamagata, *A History of Japan*, vol. 2, *During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542-1651)*.

¹⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650*.

¹⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1. Higashibaba also uses this dating. Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 75.

²¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 389-397; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 1, 185-211.

²² Pagès, *Nihon Kirishitan Shūmonshi*, 3 vols.

²³ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*.

²⁴ Ebisawa and Ōuchi, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*, 11-126.

Century to the *Kan'ei* 寛永 period (1624-1644CE) in other works.²⁵ Some scholars such as Kaga Otohiko have dated the end of the period to the proscription of Christianity in 1614,²⁶ however, this is uncommon and general scholarly consensus tends to place the end of the *Kirishitan* Century between the late 1630s and early 1650s. Elison's end date of 1639 is useful for marking the political end of the period; however, in the field of conversion Miyazaki Kentarō's dating which ends the period with the death of the last practicing missionary, Konishi Mancio (*Mansho Konishi* マンシヨ小西, 1600-1644CE),²⁷ in 1644²⁸ is particularly useful. Following Mancio's death, Christianity became hereditary,²⁹ and beyond a few rare occurrences in which people converted through marriage,³⁰ conversion to the *Kirishitan* religion was no longer possible. As this study focuses on conversion, Miyazaki's dating will be favoured for defining the *Kirishitan* Century's parameters, however, as with Boxer's and Elison's works events falling outside of the period will also be explored.

²⁵ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*.

²⁶ Kaga, "Kirishitan jidai to Nihonjin," 1.

²⁷ Konishi Mancio (sometimes rendered Mantio) was a Japanese raised in Macau 澳門 and ordained in Rome. He was probably the son of Maria Konishi マリア小西 and *daimyō* 大名 Sō Yoshitomo 宗義智 (1568-1615CE), and therefore the grandson of the *Kirishitan daimyō* キリシタン大名, Konishi Yukinaga 小西行長 (1558-1600CE). Gono, "Relations between Japan and Goa in the 16th and 17th centuries," 103-104; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 534-536; Nawata Ward, "The Christian "Nuns" of Early Modern Japan," 427-428, and 448 n. 30.

²⁸ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 4-5.

²⁹ Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan: Orasho*, 21. See also: Shimizu, "Urakami senpuku Kirishitan no shinkō - bosshū • denrai shomotsu no kentō o tegakari ni shite -," 35-57.

³⁰ Filus, "Secrecy and Kakure Kirishitan," 96-97; Filus, "Globalization and Religion: Some Aspects of the Globalization and Glocalization of Christianity among the Kakure Kirishitan in Japan," 15, 22; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of Their Development, Beliefs and Rituals to the Present Day*, 215. Otis Cary and Ann Harrington note that communities banned marriage outside of the *Kirishitan* religion. Harrington, *Japan's Hidden Christians*, 116; Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, *Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions*, 289.

On the *Kirishitan* Century several prominent English language texts have been written; Boxer's *The Christian Century in Japan* and Alison's *Deus Destroyed* are the most accessible and most widely referenced English language histories. More recently, J. F. Moran's highly detailed monograph exploring the policy of Visitor to Japan, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606CE),³¹ has gained influence. This work follows in the tradition of missionary biographies, which include other influential works such as Georg Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* (1982),³² Josef Franz Schütte's *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan* (1980)³³ and much earlier works such as Henry Venn's *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier* (1862).³⁴ Andrew C. Ross's *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (1994)³⁵ which provides insights into the East Asian Jesuit missions and the missionaries' policies is also influential, but being constructed from exclusively Western language secondary sources mostly regurgitates Alison's and Boxer's work in less detailed format. Joseph Jennes's *A History of the Catholic Church in Japan*³⁶ is also regularly cited. Neil Fujita's 1991 monograph, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan*,³⁷ is worth noting due to its exploration of events and

³¹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan*.

³² Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times (1506-1552)*. 4 vols.

³³ Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan: From his appointment as visitor until his departure from Japan (1573-1582)*. 2 vols.

³⁴ Venn, *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier*. Other prominent early European works include: Bartoli, *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Gesù, Il parte: il Giappone*; Solier, *Histoire ecclesiastique des isles et royaumes du Japon*; Bartoli and Maffei, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier: Apostle of the Indies and Japan*.

³⁵ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742*.

³⁶ Jennes, *A History of the Catholic Church in Japan: From Its Beginnings to the Early Meiji Period (1549-1873)*.

³⁷ Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan*.

people excluded from other Western works, although it has received little scholarly attention. Perhaps the most revolutionary English language work in the field in recent years is Ikuo Higashibaba's *Christianity in early Modern Japan, Kirishitan Belief and Practice* (2001)³⁸ which challenged many long-held assumptions and is paradigm shifting in its exploration of conversion. Another recent publication, Kiri Paramore's *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* (2009),³⁹ provides a useful exploration of *Kirishitan* and anti-*Kirishitan* texts and their themes. Its focus on Edo period (*Edo jidai* 江戸時代, 1603-1868CE), anti-*Kirishitan* discourse makes it particularly unique amongst English language sources. In the 1990s and early 21st Century, English language scholarship has increasingly focused on hidden *Kirishitan* (*kakure Kirishitan* カクレキリシタン) communities⁴⁰ following Tagita Kōya's and Miyazaki Kentarō's pioneering Japanese language work.⁴¹

Higashibaba divides studies of the *Kirishitan* Century into conventional historiographies, which focus on the political and economic aspects of the mission on the

³⁸ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan, Kirishitan Belief and Practice*.

³⁹ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*.

⁴⁰ Notable works include: Turnbull, "Mass or Matsuri?: The Oyashiki-Sama Ceremony on Ikitsuki," 171-188; Turnbull, "The Veneration of the Martyrs of Ikitsuki (1609-1645) by the Japanese Hidden Christians," 295-310; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*. Nosco, "The Experiences of Christians during the Underground Years and Thereafter," 85-97; Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 3-29; Harrington, "The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan's Religious Tradition," 318-336; Harrington, *Japan's Hidden Christians*; Whelan, "Religion Concealed. The Kakure Kirishitan on Narushima," 369-387; Whelan, *The Beginning of Heaven and Earth: The Sacred Book of Japan's Hidden Christians*; Dougill, *In Search of Japan's Hidden Christians: A Story of Suppression, Secrecy and Survival*; Sandvig, "Who are Kakure Kirishitan? Issues of Communal Identity within Hidden Christians of Japan," 87-96.

⁴¹ Tagita, *Shōwa jidai no senpuku Kirishitan*; Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan no shrinkō sekai*; Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan*; Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan no jitsuzō: Nihonjin no Kirisutokyō rikai to juyō*; Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*. An English version of Miyazaki's theories can be found in: Miyazaki, "The Kakure Kirishitan Tradition," 19-34.

one hand, and biographic histories on the other.⁴² The former category includes the work of Boxer, Elison, and Fujita, whilst the latter includes the work of Moran, Schurhammer and Schütte. Higashibaba also notes a growing body of work that does not fall into either paradigm, those that focus on:

popular belief and practice...Intellectual interaction between Christianity and non-Christian religious thought in Japan...and...Feminism.⁴³

Most English language works fall into Higashibaba's categorization as either overviews of the period or biographies of major missionary figures, and tend to be guilty of a Kyushu (*Kyūshū* 九州), Kyoto (*Kyōto* 京都), and Edo-centric view of the history of Christianity in Japan. Japanese scholarship, by contrast, has illustrated greater thematic and geographic diversity. The scholarship of Ebisawa Arimichi (1910-1992CE), Kataoka Yakichi (1908-1980CE), and more recently Gonoï Takahashi (1941-) has provided the foundations for modern scholarship. All three scholars composed works that could be included in Higashibaba's conventional historiographical and biographical models,⁴⁴ however, they also

⁴² Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 71-72.

⁴³ Higashibaba, "An Art of History, An Art of Comparison: Reconstructing Christianity in Premodern Japan through Comparative Analysis," 38-39.

⁴⁴ Ebisawa's prominent conventional historiographical works include: Ebisawa, *Kirishitanshi no kenkyū*; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*; Ebisawa and Ōuchi, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*, 11-126. His prominent biographical pieces include: Ebisawa, *Amakusa Shirō*; Ebisawa, *Takayama Ukon*. Kataoka's most important conventional historiographical work is: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*. Of his biographical pieces the following texts are important: Kataoka, *Sei Furanshisuko Zabieru monogatari*; Kataoka, *Takayama Ukon Dayū Nagafusa Den*. Gonoï's prominent conventional historiographies include: Gonoï, *Nihon Kirishitanshi no*

published specialized works on specific geographic areas, *Kirishitan* groups and events,⁴⁵ or thematic pieces on some facet of *Kirishitan* practice or mission.⁴⁶ Also noteworthy in the field are Anesaki Masaharu (1873-1949CE),⁴⁷ Johannes Laures (1891-1959CE),⁴⁸ Doi Tadao (1900-1995CE),⁴⁹ Matsuda Kiichi (1921-1997CE),⁵⁰ Takase Kōichirō (1936-),⁵¹ and Hubert Cieslik (1914-1988CE)⁵² who have all written extensively on the *Kirishitan* period. Urakawa Wasaburō (1876-1955CE) is also noteworthy due to his pioneering studies into regional *Kirishitan* communities and their history.⁵³ The principal difference between English and

kenkyū; Gonoï, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*; Gonoï, *Tokugawa shoki Kirishitanshi kenkyū*. Prominent amongst his biographical works is: Gonoï, *Hasekura Tsunenaga*.

⁴⁵ See for instance: Gonoï, *Shimabara no ran to Kirishitan*; Ebisawa, *Chihō Kirishitan no hakkutsu*; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no junkyōsha*; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no Kirishitan*.

⁴⁶ See works on the written, educational, scientific and artistic achievements of the *Kirishitan* and the missionaries: Gonoï, *Kirishitan no bunka*; Ebisawa, *Nanban bunka – Nichiō bunka kōshō*; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*; Ebisawa, *Yōgaku denraishi: Kirishitan jidai kara Bakumatsu made*.

⁴⁷ Pertinent amongst Anesaki's works are: Anesaki, *Kirishitan dendō no kōhai*; Anesaki, *Kirishitan kinsei no shūmatsu*; Anesaki, *Kirishitan shūkyō bungaku*; Anesaki, *Kirishitan shūmon no hakugai to senpuku*.

⁴⁸ Laures most important work is his *Kirishitan Bunko* 吉利支丹文庫 a bibliography of missionary and Japanese texts from the *Kirishitan* Century to the Meiji period. Laures, *Jōchi Daigaku Kirishitan Bunko*; Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*. Other important works include: Laures, *Kirishitan daimyō*; Laures, *Sei Furanshisuko Zabieru no shōgai*. Laures, "Die Zahl der Christen und Martyrer im alten Japan," 84-101.

⁴⁹ Doi is most famous for editing modern reprints, translations and commentaries of *Kirishitan* period texts. Amongst his historical-linguistic work the following texts are prominent: Doi, *Kirishitangogaku no kenkyū*; Doi, *Kirishitan bunkenkō*.

⁵⁰ Matsuda published several reprints of *Kirishitan* texts, but also published prolifically on other related topics. Pertinent amongst his historical works are: Matsuda and Jorissen, *Furoizu no Nihon oboegaki: Nihon to Yōroppa no fūshū no chigai*; Matsuda, *Kinsei shoki Nihon kankei Nanban shiryō no kenkyū*; Matsuda, *Nanban no Bateren: Tōzai kōshōshi no mondai o saguru*; Matsuda, *Nanban shiryō no hakken: yomigaeri Nobunaga jidai*; Matsuda, *Tenshō Kennō Shisetsu*.

⁵¹ Takase and Kishino, *Iezusukai to Nihon*. 2 vols; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bōeki to gaikō*; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no kenkyū*.

⁵² Cieslik, *Furanshisuko Zabieru: kibō no kiseki*; Cieslik and Kōso, *Kirishitan jidai no Nihonjin shisai*; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō: Kirishitanshi no mondai ni kotaeru*; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan: Nihonshi shōhyakka*; Cieslik, *Kirisuto no akashibito*; Cieslik, *Sekai o aruita Kirishitan*; Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon shiwa*; Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 1-54; Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 1-44; Cieslik, *Zoku Kirisuto no akashibito*.

⁵³ Although Urakawa's corpus of work is wide, the following texts were instrumental in establishing the study of regional *Kirishitan* communities: Urakawa, *Urakami Kirishitanshi*; Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*; Urakawa, *Gotō Kirishitanshi*.

Japanese language scholarship is the latter's breadth. Japanese scholarship has focused not only on the mission's prime movers, its geographic centres, and in providing historical overviews, but has produced detailed studies on *Kirishitan* history on a national and local level, its achievements or lack thereof, its educational systems, heroes, explorers, and persecution. In recent years, scholarship has become increasingly specialized focusing on *Kirishitan* history within small geographic units and on archaeological finds.⁵⁴

Several studies are cross-denominational and traverse multiple time periods with the goal of constructing complete histories of Christianity in Japan. The first prominent study of this nature, Otis Cary's *A History of Christianity in Japan*,⁵⁵ has become a standard text for exploring Japan's Christian history. More recently, Mullins aforementioned *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan*⁵⁶ and *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*,⁵⁷ Richard Drummond's *A History of Christianity in Japan*,⁵⁸ Gono's *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi* 日本キリスト教史,⁵⁹ Nakamura Satoshi's *Nihon Kirisutokyō Senkyōshi* 日本キリスト教宣教史,⁶⁰ and Hiyane Antei's *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi* 日本基督教史 and *Kirisutokyō no Nihonteki tenkai* 基

⁵⁴ The diversity of contemporary Japanese scholarship is reflected in the following papers on sweet potato dishes and *senpuku Kirishitan* migration, *Kakure Kirishitan* architecture, and tourism to Nagasaki Church sites. Katō, "「Tsukiage」 Goshima e – kanshō • Senpuku Kirishitan • denrai ikisatsu no kaimei –," 71-73; Kawajiri, Funo, and Jiménez Verdejo J. R., "Nagasaki Hiradoshi ni okeru Kakure Kirishitan shūroku no kūkan kōsei ni kan suru kenkyū: Yamada Kyōkai shūhen no kenchiku bunpu," 761-762; Matsui, *Kankō senryaku toshite no shūkyō: Nagasaki no kyōkaigun to basho no shōhinka*.

⁵⁵ Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Protestant Missions*, 2 vols.

⁵⁶ Mullins ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan*, 4 Volumes.

⁵⁷ Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*.

⁵⁸ Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan*.

⁵⁹ Gono, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*.

⁶⁰ Nakamura, *Nihon Kirisutokyō Senkyōshi*.

基督教の日本的展開⁶¹ have become prominent in this area. Ebisawa Arimichi and Ōuchi Saburō's *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi* 日本キリスト教史,⁶² which includes Ebisawa's aforementioned *Nihon Katorikkushi*, is perhaps the most influential work of this type. Some scholars such as Samuel Hugh Moffett⁶³ have dealt with the entirety of Christian history in Japan within larger works on Asian Church history. Moffett's treatment provides a useful introduction to the topic and its themes, but fails to draw upon Japanese sources and therefore succeeds only in reiterating earlier Western scholarship. Complete histories are relatively few due to the complexity associated with studying numerous historical contexts and the need for a knowledge of both multiple forms of Japanese and several European languages.

Kiri Paramore's analysis of scholarship on Japanese Christian texts can be applied to scholarship on the *Kirishitan* period more generally. He notes that:

Japanese Christian writings...have been examined in terms of a historiography which assumes a priori a pair of mutually exclusive categories called 'Eastern thought' and 'Western thought.'⁶⁴

⁶¹ Hiyaue, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*. 5 vols. Hiyaue, *Kirisutokyō no Nihonteki tenkai*.

⁶² Ebisawa and Ōuchi, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*.

⁶³ Moffett, *The History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 68-104, 502-527.

⁶⁴ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 11.

Such scholarship, he argues, has been used to make value judgments about Eastern and Western thought, politics and culture. Pre-Second World War research viewed the Eastern episteme as superior,⁶⁵ whereas post-War research associated with Ebisawa and his followers viewed Western thought and Christianity as inherently good and the Tokugawa 徳川 reaction against them as irrational.⁶⁶ Elison he argues ‘basically just inverts the “Japanese Christian history” approach championed by Ebisawa’⁶⁷ resulting in the creation of two schools of thought, both relying on an Eastern-Western categorization in which Japanese and Western traditions are viewed as mutually opposed.⁶⁸ As such scholarship continues to use frameworks developed from:

Tokugawa-period anti-Christian discourse...the same frameworks which supported the formation of modern ideology in Meiji Japan, and indeed which ironically also potentially support the historically inaccurate and politically dangerous ‘clash of civilization’ arguments so in vogue through the late 1990s and early 2000s.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ The anti-Christian and anti-European sentiment existent during the pre-War period is captured by a Normal School textbook originally published in 1910. The exploration of the presence of Europeans in 16th Century Japan barely covers a page, and three quarters of this focuses on European expansion throughout wider Asia. The section detailing Japanese-European interactions focuses only on the technological exchange that occurred through trade. Christianity is mentioned once on the back of a picture (between pages 236 and 237) featuring a missionary. Minegishi ed., *Shihan gakkōyō rekishi kyōkasho: Nihon rekishi, jōkan*, 236-237.

⁶⁶ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 11.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 12.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

For F. G. Notehelfer, Ebisawa's and Elison's work can also be dichotomized in terms of their approach to the contribution of Christianity to Japan.⁷⁰ For the former, Christianity aided in the development of the Tokugawa epistemology and foreshadowed *Rangaku* 蘭学⁷¹ which contributed to the creation of modern Japan. For the latter, Christianity had no lasting impact.⁷² Notehelfer also notes the formation of a new school of thought, which asks not what Christianity contributed to Japan, but how the Japanese context shaped Christianity.⁷³ Both Notehelfer and Paramore's analyses are insightful, but overlook a second issue concerning *Kirishitan* period historiographies; their use and construction with or without foresight as Christian apologetics and propaganda. The period is lauded as a golden age of Christianity, its key figures lionized, and the faith commitments of ordinary Christians judged as extraordinary due to widespread martyrdom and the existence of underground communities, which according to this thesis represented a minoritarian faith expression. Elison and Higashibaba have provided more secular and balanced histories in this sense, although the influence of this all-encompassing apologetic trope can be seen even in their work. As Jean-Pierre Lehmann notes, the act of focusing solely on the *Kirishitan* and their persecution risks Euro-centrism, as Christianity and her followers were not the only groups targeted during the period.⁷⁴ This thesis although indebted to the work of its

⁷⁰ Notehelfer, review of *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*, by John Breen and Mark Williams eds., 280.

⁷¹ *Rangaku* was the Edo period study of 'the knowledge and techniques from the West transmitted through the medium of the Dutch language.' Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience*, 6.

⁷² Notehelfer, review of *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*, 280.

⁷³ Ibid. See also: Breen and Williams, eds., *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*.

⁷⁴ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, 56.

forerunners does not presuppose any such “golden age” mythology, rather like Elison it suggests that Christianity’s contribution to Japan was ultimately inconsequential.

Defining Conversion

Religious conversion⁷⁵ is a complex process which occurs over time, grounded in interacting factors unique to different individuals, societies, and religions. It ‘assumes a variety of forms because it is influenced by a larger interplay of identity, politics, and morality.’⁷⁶ Due to these complexities, “conversion,” is a loaded term with a multiplicity of meanings dependent on a variety of interacting contexts. These contexts include the spatial-temporal, political, social, economic, psychological and religious contexts bearing on the potential convert, the same contexts bearing upon those initiating the conversion, as well as the context of the academic who must work through all these contexts to discover what conversion in the case of their study and for the groups or people that they study means. Precisely because “conversion” is a contextual term, no universal concept can be assumed. What constitutes conversion must be learnt from the context in which it takes place. Nevertheless, all definitions of conversion and religious change involve the

⁷⁵ The term “conversion” has proven contentious for some scholars. Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge argue that due to the misleading nature of the word, which has religious connotations, a neutral term such as “affiliation,” and its verbal form “affiliate,” should be used. Nevertheless, the term “affiliation” is not suitable for this study as it places primary importance on changes in an individual’s or group’s membership to religious organizations, whereas the religious change explored herein is not always related to membership. Other scholars such as Ora Limor have challenged the use of alternative terminology, because conversion ‘implies a deeper change and transformation of symbolic meaning and capacity.’ Limor, “Conversion of Space,” 31, n. 1. Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 195-196.

⁷⁶ Hefner, “Introduction: World Building and the Rationality of Conversion,” 4.

recognition that some sort of change to either affiliation or epistemology occurs. Such changes are not only spiritual or religious, Robin Thomson notes that conversion has outward ethical, cultural, social and political effects.⁷⁷ These effects have the potentiality to make every conversion conflictual precisely because conversion may result in a turn away from accepted religion, norms, values, political stances, and relationships.⁷⁸

A. D. Nock's definition of conversion has provided the benchmark for most historical and social scientific studies. Nock wrote:

By conversion we mean the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Thomson, *Changing India: Insights from the Margin*, 148-154. Ira Katznelson and Miri Rubin write that:

Conversion is always disruptive, for it alters family ties and refashions kinship, poses challenges to religious authorities, brings the cohesion of groups into question, and can shift a polity's demographic balance.

Katznelson and Rubin, "Introduction," 3.

⁷⁸ Morris, "The Problem of Understanding Conversion: Religious Change and Interfaith Dialogue," 22-25. Katznelson and Rubin note that the effects of conversion vary according to spatial-temporal context. Katznelson and Rubin, "Introduction," 1.

⁷⁹ Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*, 6-7.

In doing so he distinguished religious conversion from another form of religious change, which he calls “adhesion”.⁸⁰ He defined this as follows:

external circumstances led not to any definite crossing of religious frontiers, in which an old spiritual home was left for a new once and for all, but to men’s having one foot on each side of a fence which was cultural not creedal. They led to an acceptance of new worships as useful supplements and not as substitutes, and they did not involve the taking of a new way of life in place of the old. This we may call adhesion, in contradistinction to conversion.⁸¹

Emefie Ikenga-Metuh argues that in spite of these definitions, in practice scholars have tended to mean different things by the term “conversion” including adhesion.⁸² He distinguishes between three types of religious change; change of religious affiliation without change of conviction (adhesion), change of affiliation with change of conviction (conversion I), and change of conviction without change of affiliation (conversion II).⁸³ As Nock’s definition of adhesion does not presuppose a change of affiliation, only the inclusion of additional types of worship,⁸⁴ it also seems possible to distinguish between another type

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ikenga-Metuh, “The Shattered Microcosm: A Critical Survey of Explanations of Conversion in Africa,” 19-20.

⁸³ Ibid., 20.

⁸⁴ Nock, *Conversion*, 5-7.

of adhesion (adhesion II); the supplementation of worship without change of conviction or change of affiliation. The categories of adhesion and conversion are not employed by all scholars. Ira Katznelson and Miri Rubin for instance view conversion in adhesive terms as ‘a shift in membership from one community of faith to another.’⁸⁵

These distinctions are also problematic in so far as they dichotomize adhesion as a change only to practice and conversion as a change to epistemology. Henry Smith exploring the construction of multiple religious identities argues that practice across traditions constitutes ‘a strategy for spiritual formation.’⁸⁶ For Smith humans seek integrated consciousness, and therefore cross-tradition practice leads practitioners to construct new mind-sets, spiritualities and cosmologies.⁸⁷ As such, epistemological change can be understood as an integral component to adhesion. Nock and Ikenga-Metuh’s distinctions between different forms of religious change are therefore blurred. Moreover, their value in certain historical periods is questionable. For instance, James Muldoon argues that conversion in the pre-modern world included a range of experiences some of which were adhesive in nature that modern scholars might find difficult to describe as conversion.⁸⁸ Robert Hefner, on the other hand, challenges the primacy often given to epistemological change by stating:

⁸⁵ Katznelson and Rubin, “Introduction,” 1.

⁸⁶ Smith, “Beyond Dual Religious Belonging: Roger Corless and Explorations in Buddhist-Christian Identity,” 171

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 172. It could be argued that all are cross-traditional and presuppose a movement across secular and religious traditions, with the convert’s pre-conversion context integrating with post-conversion belief and practice to form a new episteme.

⁸⁸ Muldoon, “Introduction: The Conversion of Europe,” 3-4.

The most necessary feature of religious conversion...is not a deeply systematic reorganization of personal meanings but an adjustment in self-identification through at least nominal acceptance of religious actions or beliefs deemed more fitting, useful, or true.⁸⁹

At the beginning of his seminal 1993 study on conversion which sought to build an interdisciplinary model of religious change, Lewis Rambo writes:

[Conversion] will mean simple change from the absence of a faith system to a faith commitment, from religious affiliation with one faith system to another, or from one orientation to another within a single faith system. It will mean a change of one's personal orientation toward life, from the haphazards of superstition to the providence of a deity; from a reliance on rote and ritual to a deeper conviction of God's presence; from belief in a threatening, punitive, judgmental deity to one that is loving, supportive, and desirous of the maximum good. It will mean a spiritual transformation of life, from seeing evil or illusion in everything connected with "this" world to seeing all creation as a manifestation of God's power and beneficence; from denial of the self in this life in order to gain a holy hereafter; from seeking personal

⁸⁹ Hefner, "Introduction: World Building and the Rationality of Conversion," 17.

gratification to a determination that the rule of God is what fulfils human beings; from a life geared to one's personal welfare above all else to a concern for shared and equal justice for all. It will mean a radical shifting of gears that can take the spiritually lackadaisical to a new level of intensive concern, commitment, and involvement.⁹⁰

Rambo's definition provides no distinction between adhesion and conversion, allowing him to avoid the qualitative value judgements inherent in this categorization,⁹¹ which when applied to the Japanese context have resulted in some forms of religious change being described as less genuine, less serious, worse or false.⁹² It must be noted that many of Rambo's examples when phrased antonymously may also constitute conversion.

The Japanese term *kaishū* 改宗 (C. *Gǎizōng*) consists of two Chinese characters (J. *kanji* 漢字), *kai* 改 meaning reformation, change, modify, or replace⁹³ and *shū* 宗 meaning

⁹⁰ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, 2.

⁹¹ Perhaps such value judgements find their origin in religious understandings of conversion, Katznelson and Rubin for instance note that what constitutes true or appropriate conversion is often so defined by religious leaders and organizations. Katznelson and Rubin, "Introduction," 1.

⁹² Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 74-75.

⁹³ The *Kōjien Furoku* 広辞苑付録 notes three meanings for the character, *aratameru* あらためる (to change, alter, revise, reform, correct, examine, check, do properly, do formally), *aratamaru* あらたまる (to be renewed, be formal) and *Kensa suru* 検査する (to inspect or examine). Shinmura ed. *Kōjien Furoku*, 17. See also: Kamata and Yoneyama eds., *Kangorin*, 471. For original Chinese meanings, see: Kobayashi ed. *Shinsen Kanwa Jiten*, 358.

religion, sect or denomination.⁹⁴ It is rendered into English as “religious conversion,”⁹⁵ and literally implies a change in religion, sect, or denomination (a change in affiliation).⁹⁶ Despite this, the term *kaishū* does not exclude the possibility of a change in belief; one glossary defines the term as a turn or shift from one belief system or religion to another,⁹⁷ whilst the *Shinsen Kanwa Jiten* 新選漢和辞典 notes that it can also refer to a change in thought (*Shisō* 思想) or attitude (*Taido* 態度).⁹⁸ With the addition of modifying prefixes more detailed meanings may be garnered from the term; *kyōsei kaishū* 強制改宗 refers to religious change resulting from force or coercion,⁹⁹ whilst *shūdan kaishū* 集団改宗 refers to communal conversion.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, like adhesion in Western scholarship these forms

⁹⁴ The *Kōjien Furoku* defines it as a creed or doctrine that is believed in or adhered to such as a religion (‘信奉する教義。〔宗教・宗旨〕’) or a group organized according to a creed or doctrine such as a denomination (‘教義によって組織された団体〔宗派・禅宗〕’). Shinmura ed. *Kōjien Furoku*, 100. For Chinese meanings, see: Kobayashi ed. *Shinsen Kanwa Jiten*, 546.

⁹⁵ Halpern ed., *New Japanese-English Character Dictionary*, 1015.

⁹⁶ Several dictionaries define it as a change in religious affiliation from one religion to another. Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai ed., *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, vol. 4, 251; Tokieda and Yoshida eds., *Kadokawa Kokugo Chūjiten*, 344; Tōdō, Matsumoto, Takeda, and Kanō eds., *Kanjigen*, 671. The *Kirisutokyō Daijiten* キリシト教大事典 notes that in Catholicism several sorts of *Kaishū* exist; conversion to Catholicism - “conversio” (*konverushio* コンヴェルシオ); a return to Catholicism by former believers - “reversio” (*reverushio* レヴェルシオ); and conversion from another Christian denomination - “perversio” (*peruverushio* ペルヴェルシオ). Nihon Kirisutokyō Kyōgikai Bunsho Jigyōbu and Kirisutokyō Daijiten Henshū linkai eds., *Kirisutokyō Daijiten*, 194. In Buddhism the term similarly refers to a change of affiliation, in Nakamura Hajime’s words it is the act of leaving the sect that one belongs to and turning to another (‘所属の宗派を脱して他の宗派に転ずること’). Nakamura ed. *Bukkyōgo Daijiten, Jōkan: A-Shi*, 166.

⁹⁷ In the original text: ‘一つの信仰または宗教から、他の信仰、宗教に転ずること.’ Barrett ed., *Sekai Kirisutokyō Hyakka Jiten*, 955. The *Kirisutokyō Daijiten* also highlights the element of changing belief. Nihon Kirisutokyō Kyōgikai Bunsho Jigyōbu and Kirisutokyō Daijiten Henshū linkai eds., *Kirisutokyō Daijiten*, 194.

⁹⁸ In the original text: ‘思想や態度をかえること.’ Kobayashi ed. *Shinsen Kanwa Jiten*, 547.

⁹⁹ On *Kyōsei Kaishū* in the *Kirishitan* Century, see: Ide, “Nihon Junkankuchō P • Gomesu no kyōsei kaishū kenron hihan: 「Shingaku Kōyō」 daiichibu dairokujūhachishō,” 661-670.

¹⁰⁰ On *Shūdan Kaishū* in the *Kirishitan* Century, see: Tani, “Shūdan kaishū no genri to katei ni kan suru ikkōsatsu: Goshima Kirishitan sonraku to ōmoto,” 42-60; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 340-405; Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 58-63.

of conversion have been ascribed lesser values than other sorts of conversion. Hubert Cieslik notes that for Christian scholars a real conversion (*kaishin* 回心, literally “a turning of heart”)¹⁰¹ is understood to orientate the whole of a person’s life, and is an individual act requiring readiness and determination.¹⁰² For Christians, forms of conversion grounded for instance in the expectation of worldly reward or benefit, do not constitute a conversion from the heart (*kokoro kara no kie* 心からの帰依),¹⁰³ and are therefore judged differently. Cieslik notes that these value judgements result from the modern standpoint of scholars,¹⁰⁴ a charge that could also be levelled against the similar judgements ascribed to English language distinctions. Nevertheless, such debate over the validity of communal and forced conversion illustrates one thing; epistemological change is an important aspect of *kaishū*. Indeed, in the autobiographical account of his conversion, Imai Kaku who mostly refers to his conversion as *kaishū* also denotes it as *kaishin kaishū* 改心改宗, labouring the point that

¹⁰¹ The *Kōjien* 広辞苑 notes the English meaning “conversion” for this term. It defines the Christian use of the term as repentance from past sinful intentions and lifestyle, and a turning of one’s heart to correct belief in God. In the original text: ‘キリスト教で、過去の罪の意志や生活を悔い改めて神の正しい信仰へ心向けること。’ It also notes the existence of the synonymous terms *eshin* 回心 (used in Buddhism) and *hosshin* 発心. Shinmura ed., *Kōjien*, 462. The *Kirisutokyō Daijiten* notes the existence of two types of *kaishin*, theological *kaishin* (*shingakuteki kaishin* 神学的回心) and psychological *kaishin* (*shinriteki kaishin* 心理的回心). Nihon Kirisutokyō Kyōgikai Bunsho Jigyōbu and Kirisutokyō Daijiten Henshū linkai eds., *Kirisutokyō Daijiten*, 195. This term was in common Christian use by the early 1930s, Tanaka Kamenosuke for instance favours the term in his study of conversion to Christianity in Japan, although he also on occasion uses the term *kaishū*. Tanaka, *Kaishin monogatari*. An exploration of the term’s pros and cons are elucidated in: Kawakami, “Konvāshon no shakai rigakuteki kenkyū • saikō -- gainen • hōhō • bunka,” 18-19.

¹⁰² Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 328.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 328-329. In the context of conversion in Punjab, Christopher Harding also notes the issue of the perceived legitimacy of conversion in Church and scholarship. He argues that open-ended models of conversion in contexts of communal conversion that do not rely on the segregation of conversion as religiously, socially, or materially motivated must be developed. Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia: The Meanings of Conversion in Colonial Punjab*, 3, 8.

it is both a change of affiliation and episteme.¹⁰⁵ It therefore appears that the term *kaishū* can imply a variety of forms of religious change, in a literal sense it refers to a change of religious affiliation (adhesion),¹⁰⁶ however, this does not exclude potential epistemological change. It is also noteworthy that Nakamura Hajime's and Takenaka Masao's definitions of *kaishū* as a "turning" (*tenzuru* 転ずる) to another religious tradition,¹⁰⁷ match well with a plethora of theological definitions that understand conversion or an aspect of it as a turning.¹⁰⁸

Ian Miller notes other Japanese terms that may be used to describe conversion including *nyūkai* 入会 (entering a group), *nyūshin* 入信 (entering a faith or belief), and *shinjiru* 信じる (to believe).¹⁰⁹ The loan-word *konvāshon* コンヴァーション is also favoured by some scholars.¹¹⁰ The term *shūshigae* 宗旨替え/宗旨変え meaning to change

¹⁰⁵ Imai writes that when he was a Buddhist he lacked peace in his heart, but following his contact with Christianity he first felt peace of mind and contentment leading to his conversion '...心に平和も安心立命もなかった、斯る時にキリスト教に接して初めて安心と満足を得た、遂に佛教を棄て寺院を捨てて改心改宗するに至った....' Imai, *Yo ga kaishū no dōki*, 90-93.

¹⁰⁶ Japanese scholars have dealt with the concept of adhesion when assessing Nock's work. Asano Atsuhiko uses the terms *shūkyōteki sesshoku* 宗教的接触 (religious contact) and *shūkyōteki kizoku* 宗教的帰属 (religious belonging) to describe the concept, but notes a wider meaning of *shūkyō juyō* 宗教受容 (religious reception), however, such terms are uncommon and require lengthy explanation. Asano, "Stoicheia to garateya shinto no shūkyōteki kansei," 40. A similar issue seems to exist in other Asian scholarship, Zhōu Kǎidì for instance describes adhesion as "a new attachment or add on" ('一種新依附或一種附加') to an individual's lifestyle or world view. Zhōu, " 'Gǎizōng' gàiniàn dē kǎochá yǔ chóngjiàn: Yégè táiwān zōngjiào shèhuì xué dē fǎnxǐng," 6.

¹⁰⁷ Nakamura ed., *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, *Jōkan*: A-Shi, 166; Barrett ed., *Sekai Kirisutokyō Hyakka Jiten*, 955.

¹⁰⁸ See: Nock, *Conversion*; Griffin, *Turning: Reflections on the Experience of Conversion*; Morris, *The Mystery and Meaning of Christian Conversion*; Witherup, *Conversion in the New Testament*; Peace, *Conversion in the New Testament: Paul and the Twelve*; Gutierrez, "A Spirituality of Liberation," 307-313; Sobrino, *Christology at the Crossroad: A Latin American Approach*; Sobrino, *The True Church of the Poor*.

¹⁰⁹ Miller, "Choosing the Other – Conversion to Christianity in Japan," 26-27.

¹¹⁰ Kawakami, "Konvāshon no shakai rigakuteki kenkyū • saikō - - gainen • hōhō • bunka," 18-29.

one's religious sect, creed, article of faith, thought, or preference,¹¹¹ could be used as a suitable alternative to the term *kaishū* as some dictionaries view the terms as synonyms (also affirming the wider meaning of *kaishū*),¹¹² however, the term is dated and does not have a history of Christian usage.¹¹³ Overall, the term *kaishū* is much more common in academic literature, has a history of Christian usage,¹¹⁴ and provides a better basis for discussing the plurality of Christian religious change experienced in Japanese history than other alternatives. Nevertheless, *kaishū* is not necessarily the term used to refer to conversion historically. The popular late 16th and early 17th Century Jesuit catechism, *Dochirina Kirishitan* どちらなきりしたん used the term *Kirishitan ni naru* きりしたんになる (to become a *Kirishitan*) to describe conversion,¹¹⁵ and because conversion was understood to take place at the point of baptism the term *bachizumo* バウチズモ/ばうちずも (baptism)¹¹⁶ was also important.¹¹⁷ The modern term for baptism, *senrei* 洗礼 (sometimes *Baputesuma* バプテスマ),¹¹⁸ has continued to be used in relation to

¹¹¹ The *Kōjien* defines the term as the changing of religion or religious sect, and the changing of principles, tastes etc. In the original text: '1. 宗教・宗派を変えること。2. 主義・主張・嗜好などを変えること。' Shinmura, ed. *Kōjien*, 1321.

¹¹² See for example: Tokieda and Yoshida, *Kadokawa Kokugo Chūjiten*, 344.

¹¹³ The term is not featured in the preeminent Christian reference work the *Kirisutokyō Daijiten*. Nihon Kirisutokyō Kyōgikai Bunsho Jigyōbu and Kirisutokyō Daijiten Henshū linkai eds., *Kirisutokyō Daijiten*.

¹¹⁴ Christian use of the term has a long history, one work from the early 20th Century for instance notes that it was written by a certain convert (*kaishūsha* 改宗者). Cain ed., *Waga Eikoku kyōkai o satte Matsujitsu Seito Iesu Kirisuto Kyōkai ni ireru rirū*, 1. Modern day personal accounts of conversion to Christianity also use the term, see: Kamijō, "Katorikku Kyōkai zuisō," 3.

¹¹⁵ Ebisawa ed., *Dochirina Kirishitan*, 17; Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., "Dochirina Kirishitan," 17.

¹¹⁶ From the Portuguese term *baptismo*. Ebisawa, Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., "Yōgo ichiran hyō," 7; Ebisawa ed., "Yōgo ryakkai," 4; Morita "Yōgo taishō hyō," 172.

¹¹⁷ Ebisawa ed., *Dochirina Kirishitan*, 17; Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., "Dochirina Kirishitan," 17.

¹¹⁸ Nihon Kirisutokyō Kyōgikai Bunsho Jigyōbu and Kirisutokyō Daijiten Henshū linkai eds., *Kirisutokyō Daijiten*, 839-840.

conversion following the reestablishment of missions in the late Edo period.¹¹⁹ In the early Meiji period, the government understood religious identity as inseparable from political loyalty, and favoured the terms *kaishin* 改心 (reformation/change of conduct)¹²⁰ and *setsuyu* 説諭 (admonition)¹²¹ to describe the altering of the practices and beliefs of the general populace, rather than ‘a Japanese equivalent to the word “conversion,” in a specifically sectarian sense.’¹²² Contemporaneous missionary and linguist, James C. Hepburn (1815-1911CE), also recorded the use of the term *kaishin* to mean conversion (he defined it to mean a change of heart, reformation or conversion).¹²³ As such, whilst this work favours the term *kaishū* as a starting point, it must also be recognized that understandings of conversion and the terms used to describe it are temporal.

The ascription of value to different types of religious change is not the only problem associated with traditional models of conversion when applied to Japanese history. Most scholars (Nock and Rambo included) focus on individual conversion. In James Muldoon’s words, scholarship on conversion has focused ‘entirely upon [the] effects of a change in religious orientation upon the life, both interior and external, of individuals.’¹²⁴ Such a focus

¹¹⁹ Miller, “Choosing the Other,” 27.

¹²⁰ According to the *Kōjien* the term refers to the changing of a bad heart, mind or spirit - ‘悪い心を改めること.’ Shinmura ed. *Kōjien*, 462. See also: Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai ed., *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, vol. 4, 257.

¹²¹ The *Kōjien* notes the meanings of admonishing, and telling or warning someone they should change a bad characteristic - ‘ときさとしこと。悪いことを改めるよう、言いきかせること.’ Shinmura ed. *Kōjien*, 1579. See also: Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai ed., *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, vol. 12, 51.

¹²² Maxey, “The Crisis of “Conversion” and Search for National Doctrine in Early Meiji Japan,” 388, 398, 402.

¹²³ Hepburn, *A Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, 246.

¹²⁴ Muldoon, “Introduction: The Conversion of Europe,” 2.

is spurred by understandings of religious identity formation drawn from a capitalist, free market, post-Reformation, post-Enlightenment, and perhaps even post-modern world, in which conversion is the product of personal choice and religions a product for personal consumption.¹²⁵ In the late medieval and early modern world, conversion experienced communally or by force¹²⁶ was not necessarily a matter of individual personal choice, and therefore, any definition which is wholly individualistic is potentially problematic for exploring this history. It must be noted that communal and forced conversion do not necessarily completely invalidate individual choice, Wingate for instance writes:

it is not the case that village or group conversion necessarily includes all in a village, or all in an extended family. There is still the question of whether an individual opts in or not to a movement taking place.¹²⁷

Nevertheless, a disparity exists between individual and group conversions in terms of the form conversion takes, the motivations behind it, and its results. Alongside the fact that many individual conversion records from 16th and 17th Century Japan no longer survive or

¹²⁵ Bryan S. Turner notes that sociologists have traditionally viewed individualism as being spurred from the Reformation becoming the dominant ideology of capitalism. Turner, *Religion and Social Theory*, 155-177. On religious economy and rational choice theory refer to the works collected in: Young ed., *Rational Choice Theory and Religion: Summary and Assessment*.

¹²⁶ Elsewhere I argued that forced conversions constitute forced changes in membership (forced adhesions), however, as this work includes adhesion within its definition of conversion such phenomena fall into remit of this study. Morris, "The Problem of Understanding Conversion: Religious Change and Interfaith Dialogue," 22-25.

¹²⁷ Wingate, "Interreligious Conversion," 182.

never existed, it is difficult to draw upon insights and definitions from fields such as psychology which focus almost exclusively on individual conversion.¹²⁸ For example, through the sources available there is no way to clearly affirm or disprove William James's definition, which notes that there:

are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities.¹²⁹

A second product of theories of conversion originating in the modern Western world, is the assumption of religious exclusivity. Conversion is understood as the acceptance of a new belief or affiliation inherently different from previous beliefs or affiliations.¹³⁰ Such an

¹²⁸ The study of the relation of religious practice and conversion to personality is also limited in this way. A useful if dated introduction to the study of religion and personality is: Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*, 73-124.

¹²⁹ James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 186. See also: Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited*. Psychological explanations of religious conversion are also problematic for explaining communal conversion and mass baptism. Sigmund Freud's understanding of conversion as resulting from the Oedipus complex, Leon Salzman's expanded understanding which views conversion as resulting from conflict with any authority figure, emotional understandings of conversion formulated by James and his followers, and various cognitive and intellectual understandings of conversion, although doubtlessly useful for exploring individual conversion have limited application in this study. Some psychologists such as Chana Ullman, have explored the role of group and social influence in conversion alongside traditional explorations of conflict with authority, however, this has tended to focus on the role of a group in an individual's conversion rather than the conversion of a group or community. Freud "Religious Experience," 245-246; Salzman, "The Psychology of Religious and Ideological Conversion," 187; Lofland and Skonvod, "Conversion Motifs," 373-385; Ullman, *The Transformed Self: The Psychology of Religious Conversion* 75-105.

¹³⁰ For instance, Rambo implicitly accepts the exclusivity of religious identity and truth claims when he writes that conversion in his study will mean 'change from the absence of a faith system to a faith

assumption can hardly be useful in an historical reality that presupposes a multiplicity of not necessarily exclusive religious traditions, and in which conversion can potentially reflect this non-exclusivity. It appears, therefore, that applying Western conversion scholarship to Japan runs the risk of applying definitions which seek to describe what scholars believe conversion ought to be, rather than how it has been experienced.

Reflecting on these issues and in need of a definition of conversion congruent with the sort of religious change experienced in Japan between the 16th and 17th Centuries, and congruent with the concept of *kaishū*, conversion in this work will be understood as a change in the religious belief, affiliation and/or the practice of a group or an individual, presupposing either:

- a) that the change includes either a new belief, affiliation, and/or practice which originated within a tradition or denomination with which the group or individual did not previously identify.
- or
- b) A change belief, affiliation or practice following a previous change like that described in (a).

commitment, from religious affiliation with one faith system to another, or from one orientation to another within a single faith system.’ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, 2.

This definition includes both conversion and adhesion as defined by both Nock and Ikenga-Metuh, as well as forms of communal and forced conversion, and the sorts of religious change associated with the term *kaishū* (although wider in scope). It implies an open understanding of religiosity which might include factors beyond affiliation,¹³¹ and is inclusive of inter-faith conversion, intra-faith conversion,¹³² primary, and secondary conversion.¹³³ Furthermore, it is a definition devoid of value judgements. The definition fails to note whether conversion is an event or a process. Andrew Wingate writes that:

Most conversions, if not caused by an external event...take place over a period, and multiple factors are at play.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark developed one such model postulating five dimensions of religiosity (belief, practice, knowledge, experience and consequences). Glock, "On the Study of Religious Commitment," 98-110; Stark and Glock, *American Piety, Patterns of Religious Commitment*. See also: Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 13-16. Considering contextual differences Yasemin El-Menouar has developed a different five-dimensional model (basic religiosity, central duties, religious experience, religious knowledge, and orthopraxis) based on Glock and Stark's for application to Muslim communities. El-Menouar, "The Five Dimensions of Muslim Religiosity. Results of an Empirical Study," 53-78.

¹³² In Wingate's words, two forms of conversion can be distinguished between 'on the one hand there is conversion within a faith, and, on the other conversion from one faith to another.' Wingate, "Interreligious Conversion," 176.

¹³³ Primary conversion is a conversion in which the convert plays an active role becoming committed due to his or her positive evaluation of a religion. Secondary conversion is the passive acceptance of a religion based on attachments to a primary convert. Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*, 99-100. Dennis J. Parrucci terms these categories; ideological conversion - 'a re-orientation of the personality system directly involving religious belief and/or rituals,' and reference conversion - 'a re-orientation of the personality system which has nothing to do directly with religious beliefs and/or rituals.' Parrucci, "Religious Conversion: A Theory of Deviant Behavior," 146. Stark and co-author John Lofland refer to verbal converts (those who profess belief but take no active role in the religious organization) and total converts (those who display their commitment through both word and deed). Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 864.

¹³⁴ Wingate, "Interreligious Conversion," 179. Rambo argues that sudden conversions are rare and views conversion as a process rather than an event, however, he does not exclude the possibility that sudden conversions may occur. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, 1.

Nevertheless, even sudden conversion experiences are part of a wider set of factors, allowing all conversions to be viewed as a process. No one converted to Christianity before Christ's birth, but Christianity becoming a contextual factor made rapid, sudden, single-experience conversion possible.

Context and Conversion

Writing on conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century, Higashibaba argues that Rambo's assertion that conversion should be explored contextually taking into account social, cultural, religious and personal contexts, in their macrocontextual (political, economic, ecological, corporate, and religious systems) and microcontextual (the immediate socio-economic, religious, ethnic, and personal context of the convert) forms¹³⁵ is a potentially fruitful starting point for studies of conversion in Japan.¹³⁶ Rambo writes that context:

is the total environment in which conversion transpires...Context shapes the nature, structure, and process of conversion...conversion is a process influenced not only by objective external forces but also by subjective, internal motivations, experiences, and aspirations...Context is the integration of both the superstructure and the infrastructure of conversion, and it includes social, cultural, religious, and personal

¹³⁵ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, 21-22.

¹³⁶ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, xviii-xix.

dimensions. Contextual factors shape avenues of communication, the range of religious options available, and people's mobility, flexibility, resources, and opportunities. These forces have a direct impact on who converts and how conversion happens. People can often be induced, encouraged, prevented, or forced to either accept or reject conversion on the basis of factors external to the individual.¹³⁷

Fenggang Yang and Andrew Abel note that a macrocontextual approach is required to explore mass conversion events and the rapid spread of Christianity.¹³⁸ As communal conversion was a principal means by which converts were gained between 1549 and 1644,¹³⁹ and because the microcontextual factors influencing converts are difficult to ascertain in most cases, a macrocontextual approach is necessary for the study of Christian conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century. A macrocontextual approach is also warranted by the important role that socio-economic and political changes played in conversion. During the Edo period, the possibility of conversion was controlled by political and legal context, making the political context of early modern Japan one of the most important factors in conversion. As such, any study of conversion in Japan during the period must focus heavily on macrocontextual factors, except in cases when microcontextual factors can also be reconstructed. Elsewhere Rambo and C. E. Farhadian note the existence of another

¹³⁷ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, 20-21.

¹³⁸ Yang and Abel, "Sociology of Religious Conversion," 147.

¹³⁹ Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 328-405.

category, the *mesocontext*: the combination of macro and micro contexts which covers the local environment including local government and local religious organizations.¹⁴⁰ Mesocontextual factors may be particularly useful to explore in studies focusing on specific geographic areas or communities.

The political context of colonialism and empire has been used to explain and explore conversion in African, Latin American and Asian contexts. F. K. Ekechi notes that systems of military expedition, education, exploitation, and the resultant perceived comparative social advantage of becoming a Christian were important factors in the acceptance of Christianity amongst the Nigerian, Igbo people.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, as Mario Aguilar's work illustrates colonialism did not always result in conversion to the religion of the colonists, in the case of the Waso Boorana in Kenya and Ethiopia, geographic and political changes:

...and the final setting of colonial boundaries, created an isolated people who gradually lost their connections with Ethiopia and the rest of the Oromo and became closer to the Somali...Isolated from Ethiopia and the celebrations of festivals of initiation and life with the rest of the Boorana, the Waso Boorana adopted Muslim practices.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Rambo and Farhadian, "Converting: stages of religious change," 24-25.

¹⁴¹ Ekechi, "Colonialism and Christianity in West Africa: The Igbo Case 1900-1915," 103-115.

¹⁴² Aguilar, *Current Issues on Theology and Religion in Latin America and Africa*, 182-183.

Although Japan was never a European colony and there was no external military conquest that could possibly stimulate conversion,¹⁴³ colonial understandings of conversion remain important. T. O. Beidelman writes that colonialism is:

cultural domination with enforced social change...not only...continued economic and political influence by former colonial powers but also...domination of the poor and uneducated masses by a privileged and powerful native elite fiercely determined to make change.¹⁴⁴

Such a definition allows Japanese governmental systems, whether domainal¹⁴⁵ or national, to be understood as colonial in nature. In terms of conversion, it was enforced social change at the hands of local rulers in the *Kirishitan* Century that brought mass converts to Christianity, and later the social engineering of the national Edo period government that sought to limit and stop conversion. The words of Néstor Míguez, Joerg Rieger, and Jung Mo Sung aptly describe the situation, they write:

¹⁴³ In his work on conversion in Yorubaland, J. D. Y. Peel notes that war spurred socio-economic change and the coming of missionaries, which in turn created a climate in which conversion was possible. This did not necessarily mean that conquest itself resulted in conversion, Peel notes that the Ijebu people converted in much greater numbers to Islam than Christianity following their conquest, and the study of some areas suggests that conquest slows the conversion process. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, 27-87; Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland," 294; Peel, "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies: Ijebu and Buganda," 112-114.

¹⁴⁴ Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, 2.

¹⁴⁵ As a local government, a domainal government would be mesocontextual within Rambo and Farhadian's definition. Rambo and Farhadian, "Converting: stages of religious change," 24-25.

In past empires, human subjectivity and desire have often been subdued by force and direct cultural repression.¹⁴⁶

Indeed, colonialism is predicated upon unequal power relations, in which one power may triumph politically, economically, and spiritually over another.¹⁴⁷ This needn't suggest an East-West power struggle; in the case of this study the forces of colonialism are an internal Japanese creation acting against a portion of the Japanese population deemed to be subversive. To use the parlance of Gauri Viswanathan, which is particularly true of Japan during the Edo period, the Othering of religion leads to the legislation of religious identity.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, even though no colonial superstructure existed in Japan, the missionaries in all time periods worked within a colonial, Orientalist discourse in which the Japanese were viewed as Other.¹⁴⁹ Simultaneously, they used techniques developed in colonial mission fields such as the establishment of an education system in order to spread Christianity, and benefitted from 'identification of...Christianity with European...achievements'¹⁵⁰ prevalent throughout Asia. Beidelman doesn't go so far as to state that missionaries were independent of their colonial enterprises, however, he notes that missions were a unique colonial structure isolated from both the outside world and the populations of the colonies

¹⁴⁶ Míguez, Rieger, and Sung, *Beyond the Spirit of Empire*, 29.

¹⁴⁷ Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation*, 41-46.

¹⁴⁸ Viswanathan, "Religious Conversion and the Politics of Dissent," 92.

¹⁴⁹ Murayama-Cain, "The Bible in Imperial Japan, 1850-1950," 29.

¹⁵⁰ Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia*, 10.

in which they existed.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, in Japan missionary institutions existed independently of a larger colonial enterprise. Whilst theories on colonialism provide useful insights to explain the workings of missionary apparatus and a political system that limited conversion, the lack of a wider Western colonial enterprise means that such theories when applied to the missionary organizations present in Japan must be used in conjunction with others which more aptly fit the historical context.

In 1894, Frederick Engels argued that early Christianity attracted the poor because it offered an escape from oppression with its prospect of other worldly reward.¹⁵² Such a conclusion was supported by other scholars such as Karl Kautsky in his *Foundations of Christianity*¹⁵³ and Ernst Troeltsch who argued that all sects (here defined in contradistinction to Churches) are movements of the lower classes.¹⁵⁴ In the second half of the 20th Century such arguments received criticism, and it was suggested that early Christianity was a disproportionately middle and upper class movement.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, in the field of sociology which had traditionally followed Engels, Kautsky, and Troeltsch by asserting a correlation between poverty and religiosity, the situation was discovered to be

¹⁵¹ Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*, 28.

¹⁵² Engels, "On the History of Early Christianity."

¹⁵³ Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity*.

¹⁵⁴ Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, vol. 1, 331. See also: Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 26-76; Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual*, 156-229.

¹⁵⁵ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 30-32; Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 2-9.

more complicated.¹⁵⁶ Rodney Stark argues that 'religious movements typically are launched by the privileged classes'¹⁵⁷ but also notes that:

religious commitment consists of a number of somewhat independent dimensions...the poor tend to be more religious on some of these dimensions while the rich are more religious on others.¹⁵⁸

Building upon deprivation theory,¹⁵⁹ which suggests that people seek 'supernatural solutions to their thwarted material desires,'¹⁶⁰ Stark argues that people adopt:

¹⁵⁶ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 34-35. See also: Glock, "The Role of Deprivation in the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups," 24-36; Stark, "Class, Radicalism and Religious Involvement in Great Britain," 698-706; Stark, "The Economics of Piety," 485-503.

¹⁵⁷ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 2. See also: Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 34-47; Stark, "Upper Class Asceticism: Social Origins of Ascetic Movements and Medieval Saints," 5-19. The concept was formulated by Nicholas J. Demerath before its confirmation by Stark. Demerath, *Social Class in American Protestantism*.

¹⁵⁸ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 35.

¹⁵⁹ Deprivation theory links religiosity to the satisfaction of people's unfulfilled desires which result from societal inequality leading to feelings of deprivation, strain, tension or dissatisfaction. Bainbridge, "The Sociology of Conversion," 178-191; Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 864-867; Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 202-223.

¹⁶⁰ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 14. Elsewhere Glock and Stark write that a feeling of deprivation is a 'necessary precondition for the rise of any organized social movement...religious or secular' however it is also necessary that 'the deprivation be shared...no alternative institutional arrangements for its resolution are perceived, and that a leadership emerge with an innovating idea for building a movement out of the existing deprivation.' Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*, 249. Glock clarifies in another work that 'religious resolutions are more likely to occur where the nature of the deprivation is inaccurately perceived or where those experiencing deprivation are not in a position to work directly at eliminating the causes.' Glock, "The Role of Deprivation in the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups," 29.

supernatural solutions to their thwarted existential and moral desires – a situation to which the privileged are especially prone, since they are not distracted by immediate material needs.¹⁶¹

Stark asserts that deprivation is not always a result of social class or economic disparity, but could be psychological¹⁶² and microcontextual in nature. He therefore posits the existence of two types of deprivation: absolute deprivation (e.g. economic poverty) and relative deprivation (the subjective feeling of lacking something).¹⁶³ Stark's assertion that the upper classes are disproportionately represented amongst converts due to both their relative deprivation and the socio-economic freedom to act on that deprivation,¹⁶⁴ provides an important analytical tool for the study of the *Kirishitan* Century and later periods in which social class played an important role in determining who converted.¹⁶⁵

Deprivation theory is not without critics. Paul Heelas and Anne Maria Haglund-Heelas note that it fails to adequately explain why some deprived people or groups don't convert, and that it cannot be explored scientifically.¹⁶⁶ Addressing the first criticism, Stark and Charles Y. Glock write that deprivation is a necessary condition, but by itself is

¹⁶¹ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 14.

¹⁶² Stark and Bainbridge define tension as 'a psychological concept, referring to a state of unhappiness on the part of an individual.' Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 202.

¹⁶³ Fenggang and Andrew, "Sociology of Religious Conversion," 142.

¹⁶⁴ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 13-14; Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 37-39.

¹⁶⁵ Pertinent studies include: Sumiya, *Kindai Nihon no keisei to Kirisutokyō: Meiji shoki Purotesutanto Kyōkai shiron*; Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Japan*.

¹⁶⁶ Heelas and Haglund-Heelas, "The Inadequacy of 'Deprivation' as a Theory of Conversion," 112-119. Stark also notes the lack of empirical basis for the theory. Stark, "Upper Class Asceticism: Social Origins of Ascetic Movements and Medieval Saints," 6.

insufficient to spur the rise of new social movements.¹⁶⁷ The development of deprivation theory by Stark, Glock, William S. Bainbridge, John Lofland, and others,¹⁶⁸ as well as the traditional linking of poverty and religiosity by Engels, Kautsky and Troeltsch, is drawn from a materialistic understanding of the world based on post-Industrial revolution, capitalist models. This is problematic because the upper classes of pre-capitalist societies are not necessarily distinguished by their economic power, but may draw their privileged status from other sources such as kinship, caste, or religion.¹⁶⁹

Deprivation theory is intimately linked to rational choice theory¹⁷⁰ and hinges on the concept that religions can satisfy human desires through:

- a) Providing mechanisms to assist people in enduring their deprivations,
- b) Providing compensators for a desired reward,

¹⁶⁷ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*, 249.

¹⁶⁸ Glock, "The Role of Deprivation in the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups," 24-36; Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*; Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*; Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 862-875; Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and other Cult Movements," 209-214; Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*.

¹⁶⁹ Bruce Malina for instance notes the importance of kinship rather than wealth in determining social status in the ancient world. Malina, "Social Ranking," 375.

¹⁷⁰ Laurence Iannaccone notes three assumptions that a rational choice theory of religion rests upon:

Assumption 1: *Individuals act rationally, weighing costs and benefits of potential actions, and choosing those actions that maximize their net benefits.*

Assumption 2: *The ultimate preferences (or "needs") that individuals use to access costs and benefits tend not to vary much from person to person or time to time.*

Assumption 3: *Social outcomes constitute the equilibria that emerge from the aggregation and interaction of individual actions.*

Iannaccone, "Rational Choice: Framework for the Scientific Study of Religion," 26.

c) Providing direct rewards to members.¹⁷¹

Furthermore, it assumes that as rational actors, humans will weigh the costs and benefits (rewards) of their actions in order to maximize benefit,¹⁷² perhaps accepting information from others in order to make this assessment.¹⁷³ As such, proponents argue that people will choose a religion and the extent to which they participate in it based on their cost-benefit analysis of their potential religious choices.¹⁷⁴ The model proposed by Stark focuses on the compensators that a religion may provide to the wealthy in their search for self-realization.¹⁷⁵ Contrary to this, numerous studies have suggested that it is the direct rewards offered by religions that lead to or encourage conversion. As noted, Ekechi argues that conversion amongst the Igbo was linked to the comparative sense of advantage and the anticipated rewards of embracing Christianity, which included preferential treatment, avoidance of forced labour and other forms of colonial exploitation, and access to formal education.¹⁷⁶ Carol Summers similarly argues that in Zimbabwe it was the unequal material relationship between missionaries and potential converts that was at the root of the missions' success.¹⁷⁷ She writes that:

¹⁷¹ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 36-37, 167-172.

¹⁷² Ibid., 167-172. See also: Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 9-13. For a full treatment of the theory, see: Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*.

¹⁷³ Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 10.

¹⁷⁴ Iannaccone, "Rational Choice: Framework for the Scientific Study of Religion," 27.

¹⁷⁵ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 13-14; Stark, "Upper Class Asceticism: Social Origins of Ascetic Movements and Medieval Saints," 15-16.

¹⁷⁶ Ekechi, "Colonialism and Christianity in West Africa: The Igbo Case 1900-1915," 103-115.

¹⁷⁷ Summers, "Tickets, Concerts and School Fees: Money and New Christian Communities in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1940," 245-246.

Money...was woven into the many meanings of what Christianity could bring, not in a mere quantitative sense, but in the qualitative reconstruction and recreation of community it brought as individuals, families and congregations, getting and spending money in new ways, for new wants and needs, remade society.¹⁷⁸

Murray Last also explores the economic dimensions of conversion in his study on Islam in Hausaland, Nigeria.¹⁷⁹ He notes that whilst conversion is a necessary step for those Hausa traders who wish to maintain or increase the growth rate of their businesses, the cost of rituals associated with conversion and the expectation that Muslim husbands become breadwinners may act as incentives against conversion.¹⁸⁰ Scholarship on Japan also suggests that economic incentives played a role in conversion, with debate for example focusing on whether *daimyō* 大名 (warlord/domainal ruler) converts embraced Christianity primarily for the sake of economic gain.¹⁸¹ In any case, some people likely convert for direct socio-economic benefits, whilst others likely convert due to a religion's abilities to offer non-material compensators. Furthermore, the possibility must remain open that some people may convert without balancing risks and benefits, without the promise of direct or compensatory benefits, or without knowledge of potential risks and benefits.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 262.

¹⁷⁹ Last, "Some Economic Aspects of Conversion in Hausaland (Nigeria)," 236-246.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 32.

Theological understandings of conversion are an important part of the macrocontext that shape the way in which conversion occurs. As this is primarily an areligious historical study, theological explanations of why conversion happens will not be explored, neither will contemporary theological understandings of conversion be supplanted into a past in which they had not yet been formulated. Nevertheless, the theological understandings of the missionary bodies present in Japan and the ways in which these theologies shaped the work of conversion are important. Generally, for the Catholic Church, represented in this study by the Jesuits, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans, conversion occurred at the point of baptism. As such missionaries in the *Kirishitan* Century focused on communal baptism to gain converts.¹⁸² Alongside other temporal theological and epistemological concepts such as *cuius region, eius religio*, the work of conversion was oriented to fulfil certain theological criteria and expectations that in turn shaped the converts' own understandings of conversion and post-conversion life. Japanese religious institutions, their opposition or openness to Christianity and conversion in different time periods, and the understanding of religious change which they formulated, were also integral to shaping conversion. When the missionaries arrived, the native institutions had already created the common understandings of what conversion meant, and they therefore doubtlessly shaped how converts saw and understood their own conversions. As Higashibaba notes:

¹⁸² Ibid., 340-405.

A comparative and contextual study of the Kirishitan tradition presupposes that the Japanese people's pre-Christian religious experience played a large role in determining their approach to Christianity. Wherever Catholicism presented to the Japanese either familiar or foreign elements, we may assume that the Japanese could recognize and understand them through conscious or unconscious comparison of those elements with their counterparts in Japanese religion.¹⁸³

Most studies explore conversion in terms of the macrocontextual and microcontextual push and pull factors which encourage or hinder a potential convert's acceptance of a given religion. Whilst, such an approach is necessary given that the various contexts bearing upon the potential convert directly relate to said person's conversion or lack thereof, in Japan and other countries, where Christianity was introduced at the hands of missionary organizations, the various contexts limiting and assisting said organizations were also important for shaping conversion. Organizations are both limited and aided by their financial resources, workforce, that workforce's linguistic and social understandings, that workforce's personalities, missionary publications, the way conversion is understood and the church organized. It would be false to claim that missionaries and their organizations are completely excluded from conversion studies,¹⁸⁴ but one observation is

¹⁸³ Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 78.

¹⁸⁴ Numerous studies focus on missionaries and their organizations, see: Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*; Harding, *Religious*

rarely made; *conversion occurs when the limitations affecting both potential convert and organization are outweighed by other factors. Moreover, the limitations acting upon the organization shape the conversion and post-conversion life of converts.* This is not necessarily straightforward, on the one hand it might be assumed that if the missionaries are limited by their language skills conversions will be less forthcoming, on the other hand methods such as communal conversion may allow such limitations to be circumnavigated as ritual takes precedence over understanding.

This thesis will argue that the macrocontext of conversion was highly influential in determining whether the Japanese chose to convert. Political, socio-economic, and religious systems all played a role in shaping the sort of conversions that took place, as well as the possibility that conversion could take place to begin with. Nevertheless, conversion scholarship is not confined to the exploration of macrocontext. In the remainder of this chapter other potentially useful theories for exploring Christian conversion in Japan will be explored.

Transformation in South Asia: The Meanings of Conversion in Colonial Punjab, 61-124; Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter*; Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*.

Christianity as a New Religious Movement

Describing distinctions between different types of religious organizations, Lorne L. Dawson notes that such distinctions are dependent upon 'the time and place in question.'¹⁸⁵ Using the example of the Catholic Church he writes:

In medieval France it was an ecclesia, but in eighteenth century America, which was dominated by Protestant denominations, it was almost a sect or cult. By the late twentieth century, in both France and the United States, it is probably best deemed a denomination.¹⁸⁶

New Religious Movements (NRMs) often referred to simply as "cults"¹⁸⁷ have been defined in numerous ways, for some scholars, most notably Eileen Barker, NRMs are those religious movements which came into existence after WWII.¹⁸⁸ For others, due to the diversity and complexity of NRMs a summary definition cannot be given and therefore several ways to categorise NRMs are usually offered in works on the topic.¹⁸⁹ Shimazono

¹⁸⁵ Dawson, *Comprehending Cults: The Sociology of New Religious Movements*, 35.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Saliba, *Understanding New Religious Movements*, 1. Bainbridge argues that the traditional term "cult," is more appropriate than NRM because other religious movements such as sects are also new. Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 24. See also: Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 124-128.

¹⁸⁸ Barker, *New Religious Movements: A Practical Introduction*, 145; Barker, "New Religious Movements: Their incidence and significance," 16; Barker, "Revisionism and Diversification in New Religious Movements: An Introduction," 2.

¹⁸⁹ Saliba, *Understanding New Religious Movements*, 1-14; Chryssides and Wilkins eds., *A Reader in New Religious Movements*, 1-6; Chryssides and Zeller, "Introduction," 12-18.

Susumu notes the term “new religion” could refer to any religion at the beginning of its existence,¹⁹⁰ whereas George D. Chryssides and Margaret Z. Wilkins similarly write that:

New religions are certainly not a new phenomenon; all ancient religions were new once.¹⁹¹

Ikado Fujio argues that NRM’s have emerged in all historical periods, as new challenges to traditional religious systems.¹⁹² Indeed, several scholars have explored early Christianity with theoretical frameworks and perspectives developed for the study of modern NRMs.¹⁹³ It is also possible to view Christianity in the *Kirishitan* Century, later periods, and in Asia more generally as an NRM or cult.¹⁹⁴

Bainbridge notes that ‘each religious organization is unique and cannot be placed perfectly in any category.’¹⁹⁵ He therefore seeks to treat religion as ‘dynamic systems of beliefs, practices, socioeconomic structures and human beings.’¹⁹⁶ His assertion is certainly

¹⁹⁰ Shimazono, “New Religions and Christianity,” 277.

¹⁹¹ Chryssides and Wilkins eds., *A Reader in New Religious Movements*, 3.

¹⁹² Ikado, *Karuto no shosō: Kirisutokyō no baai*, 85.

¹⁹³ Chryssides and Zeller, “Introduction,” 1. Notable amongst these scholars are Rodney Stark and Jack T. Sanders. Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*; Stark, *Cities of God: The Real Story of How Christianity Became an Urban Movement and Conquered Rome*; Sanders, “Establishing Social Distance between Christians and Both Jews and Pagans,” 361-384; Sanders, *Charisma, Converts, Competitors: Societal and Sociological Factors in the Success of Early Christianity*.

¹⁹⁴ Although they don’t explicitly define Christianity as an NRM, Stark’s work with Xiuhua Wang and Eric Y. Liu on conversion to Christianity in China adopts theoretical frameworks grounded in Stark’s studies of NRMs. Stark and Wang, *A Star in the East: The Rise of Christianity in China*; Stark and Liu, “The Religious Awakening in China,” 282-289.

¹⁹⁵ Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 25.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

true and his approach useful, but although each religious system must be explored individually and contextually, categorizations or at least the knowledge garnered from the study of similar groups can provide a useful starting point for approaching conversion. Categorizations of church and sect were originally popularized by Ernest Troeltsch.¹⁹⁷ However, because his study focused on pre-19th Century Europe, assuming a Christian religious monopoly, its legal protection, and a context in which alternative religious movements were by the very nature of their existence oppositional, the usefulness of Troeltsch's categories for application to other contexts is questionable.¹⁹⁸

Richard H. Niebuhr made several additions to Troeltsch's work, theorizing that organizational categories such as church and sect are fluid; churches may become or produce sects, and sects may become churches.¹⁹⁹ Other scholars such as Bryan R. Wilson provided evidence to refute Niebuhr's theory that sects which do not develop into churches will inevitably be short lived.²⁰⁰ Since Troeltsch's work, scholars have formulated further organizational subdivisions, including the division of the category of church into church and

¹⁹⁷ Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, vol. 1, 331, 338-342; Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, vol. 2, 993. Troeltsch developed the work of his mentor Max Weber whose theories on religious organization categorization are elucidated in: Toennies, Simmel, Troeltsch and Weber, "Max Weber on Church, Sect, and Mysticism," 140-149; Loader and Alexander, "Max Weber on Churches and Sects in North America: An Alternative Path toward Rationalization," 1-6; Weber, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," 302-322; Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. See also: Swedberg, *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* 242-244.

¹⁹⁸ Johnson, "On Church and Sect," 540. Bainbridge explores some of the issues with the category of sect as used in common and scholarly parlance. Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 23-24.

¹⁹⁹ Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 16-21, 145. See also: Muelder, "From Sect to Church," 480-488; Pope, "Aspects of the Movement from Sect to Church," 488-490.

²⁰⁰ Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," 3-15. See also: Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 19.

denomination, and the division of the category of sect into sect and cult.²⁰¹ However, as Benton Johnson argues, an inherent problem associated with Troeltsch's categorizations and those which have followed it, is that the large number of characteristics used to categorise religious movements vary independently of each other, leading to the endless creation of new categories.²⁰² Such a situation compounds a pre-existent lack of scholarly consensus on the meaning of different categorizations.²⁰³

Stark and Bainbridge provide more useful definitions for use in this study. They define churches (alongside denominations) as conventional religious organizations,²⁰⁴ whereas sects are defined as 'deviant religious organizations with traditional beliefs and practice.'²⁰⁵ Neither definition suitably describes Christianity as present in the *Kirishitan* Century. Certainly, it constituted a church or denomination in contemporaneous Europe, but in Japan it was neither a conventional organization nor one which had contextually traditional beliefs or practices. It is therefore important to look at other organizational

²⁰¹ Howard Becker was the first to make such a distinction, later J. Milton Yinger described organizations based on inclusivity/exclusivity distinguishing between universal church, ecclesia (national church), denomination, established sect, sect, and cult. Others such as Russel Dynes have focused on the characteristics of individuals rather than organizations, suggesting that these characteristics might be sect or church-like in orientation. Other scholars subdivided the categories further, for example Elmer T. Clark postulated the existence of seven types of sects based on their characteristics. Refer to brief overview in: Dawson, *Comprehending Cults*, 30-31; Coleman, "Church-Sect Typology and Organizational Precariousness," 59; Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 122-124. For the original formulations of Becker, Yinger, Dynes and Clark, see: Becker, *Systematic Sociology*; Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion*; Dynes "Church-Sect Typology and Socioeconomic Status," 555-561; Clark, *The Small Sects in America*, 22-24.

²⁰² Johnson, "On Church and Sect," 541.

²⁰³ Coleman, "Church-Sect Typology and Organizational Precariousness," 59-62.

²⁰⁴ Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 24; Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 124-128.

²⁰⁵ Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 124-128.

categories. One such category introduced at the beginning of this section is that of the cult or NRM. Drawing on a plethora of definitions Dawson notes that:

cults...are concerned with the satisfaction of individual needs and desires. They usually lay claim to some esoteric knowledge that has been lost, repressed, or newly discovered, and they offer believers some more direct kind of ecstatic or transfiguring experience than traditional modes of religious life...Cults...often display no systematic orientation to the broader society and usually they are loosely organized. They are almost always centred on a charismatic leader and are subject to disintegration when the leader dies or is discredited...the vast majority...are short lived and small.²⁰⁶

Notwithstanding the fact that organizational categories exist on a continuum, evolving with time and grounded in specific contexts, Dawson concedes that many cults are atypical and become established, long-lived, large, organized, ideologically sophisticated, and share many features with sects.²⁰⁷ Such a definition, based on characteristics which by Dawson's own concession vary to such an extent that a number of cults are atypical, fails to be a definition, which should in Stark and Bainbridge's parlance allow something to be identified

²⁰⁶ Dawson, *Comprehending Cults*, 31.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 31-32, 34-35.

as belonging or not belonging to the defined class.²⁰⁸ In contrast, Stark and Bainbridge, who reject the usefulness of typologies based on numerous characteristics, define a cult as ‘a deviant religious organization with novel belief and practices.’²⁰⁹ Deviance is a:

departure from the norms of a culture in such a way as to incur the imposition of extraordinary costs from those who maintain the culture.²¹⁰

Such a definition can certainly be applied to Christianity in the Japanese context. Christianity was deviant in so far as martyrdom and hiding became the ultimate imposition on those desiring to maintain their religious belief and practice. It was novel in so far as its beliefs and practices were new to the Japanese context.

Elsewhere Stark and Bainbridge provide a more detailed exploration of their categorization. They take the work of Benton Johnson, who characterized religions based on their state of tension with their surrounding environment, as their point of departure.²¹¹

Reformulating the church-sect distinction, Johnson writes that:

²⁰⁸ Stark and Bainbridge, “Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements,” 122.

²⁰⁹ Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 24; Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 124.

²¹⁰ Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 24; Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 124.

²¹¹ Stark and Bainbridge, “Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements,” 123; Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 31-59.

*A church is a religious group that accepts the social environment in which it exists. A sect is a religious group that rejects the social environment in which it exists.*²¹²

Using this alongside Niebuhr's concept that religious organizations evolve and develop, Stark and Bainbridge suggest that organizations may also be characterised by the movements toward (a sect movement) or away from (a church movement) tension with their surrounding environment.²¹³ For Stark and Bainbridge the term "sect" applies only to schismatic movements: religions with previous ties to another religious organization and which were founded by people '*who left another religious body for the purpose of founding the sect.*'²¹⁴ On the other hand, cults '*do not have a prior tie with another established religious body in the society in question.*'²¹⁵ As such, a cult may represent a religion which originated outside of the country in question (migration) or one which through innovation (mutation), rather than schism, originated in the host country.²¹⁶ In Stark and Bainbridge's words:

²¹² Johnson, "On Church and Sect," 542.

²¹³ Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 124.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 125. See also: Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 23-24.

²¹⁵ Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 125. Writing elsewhere on this distinction Bainbridge and Stark note:

Only *cult movements* are fully-fledged religions. They can be distinguished from churches on the basis of their relatively high tension with their surrounding socio-cultural environment. They can be distinguished from sects in that they constitute or remain within a *deviant* religious tradition, while sects are schismatic movements within a conventional religious tradition.

Bainbridge and Stark, "Client and Audience Cults in America," 200.

²¹⁶ Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 125-126.

Whether domestic or imported, the cult is something *new* vis-a-vis the other religious bodies of the society in question...Imported cults often have little common culture with existing faiths; while they may be old in some other society, they are new and different in the importing society.²¹⁷

In Stark and Bainbridge's model cults may become dominant traditions, becoming churches or denominations as they reduce tension between themselves and their environment.²¹⁸ Under their definition, Christianity as explored in this study can be viewed as a cult; it was imported and new in comparison to the receiving society making it novel. It was deviant because it had the potentiality in parts of the *Kirishitan* Century to demand the most a person can give for their religious belief; their life. At times, it was in a state of tension with the surrounding society, through its alternate truth claims, demands, and eventually its prohibited status. Stark and Bainbridge write that:

cults thrive where conventional faiths are weak, but where many people still believe in the supernatural and desire effective answers to questions of ultimate meaning.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 125-126.

²¹⁹ Bainbridge and Stark, "Client and Audience Cults in America," 200.

Indeed, during the tumultuous period explored in this study the position of conventional religious organizations was weakened by social, political and economic changes, the flourishing of alternative native religious groups, and even legal controls against traditional Japanese religion.²²⁰ Conversion to non-conventional religions therefore became viable.

Stark and Bainbridge go further than merely distinguishing between sects and cults. They categorize cults based on their degree of organization and in terms of the compensators they offer.²²¹ Christianity in Japan constitutes a cult movement. Cult movements offer an array of compensators, defined here as:

*postulations of reward according to explanations that are not readily susceptible to unambiguous evaluation.*²²²

Cult movements moreover offer general compensators, defined as 'substitutes for very general rewards...and for large collections of rewards.'²²³ Through offering general compensators the cult movement offers a system of ultimate meaning which allows it to be

²²⁰ Discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

²²¹ Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 126-127.

²²² Ibid., 120.

²²³ Ibid. Elsewhere Stark and Bainbridge define "general compensators" as 'Compensators which substitute for a cluster of many rewards and for rewards of great scope and value.' Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 36. See also: Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 12-13.

categorized as religious.²²⁴ Cult movements are also the most organized type of cult in Stark and Bainbridge's spectrum.²²⁵

It is also possible that people interacted with Christianity on the level of an audience cult in which members:

may gather to hear a lecture. But there are virtually no aspects of formal organization to these activities, and membership remains at most a consumer activity...cult audiences often do not gather physically but consume cult doctrines entirely through magazines, books, newspapers, radio and television.²²⁶

Indeed, during the early stages of the mission, the missionaries spoke to the masses through ad hoc lectures, sermons, and street preaching.²²⁷ Contrary to Stark and Bainbridge's definition, the missionaries tried to formalize membership and organizational structure where resources allowed, although this was based on the availability of personnel.²²⁸ Some also interacted with Christianity on the level of a client cult in which the relationship between cult promulgator and member resembles that of therapist and patient or

²²⁴ Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 127.

²²⁵ Ibid., 126.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Jurgis Elisonas (George Elison) for instance notes Xavier's public sermons at Buddhist temples. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 309.

²²⁸ For instance, Gamō Ujisato 蒲生氏郷 (1556-1595) requested that missionaries be sent to his domain, however, these failed to materialize due to a lack of personnel. Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*, 1-2; Kroehler and Kroehler, "The Kirishitan of Aizu," 46-48.

consultant and client.²²⁹ The client cult closely reflects the interactions between the missionaries and the *daimyō*. In a literal sense, the missionaries and the *daimyō* formed consultant-client relationships, in which the missionaries advised on both religious and profane matters whilst their clientele continued to abide by their own previously held religious commitments or accepted some Christian practices alongside their own religious commitments.²³⁰ Unlike client cults, which primarily deal in magical services offering ‘unconventional hopes for spiritual, emotional and physiological benefit,’²³¹ the missionaries in Japan primarily offered Western technology and knowledge to be used as a means to gain this-worldly benefit.²³² The categories of audience and client cult cannot be fully applied to Christianity in Japan, because Christianity always offered a system of general compensators. However, these categorizations provide a useful way to explore the sorts of

²²⁹ Stark and Bainbridge, “Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements,” 126; Perreira, “*Sasana Sakon* and the New Asian American: Intermarriage and Identity at a Thai Buddhist Temple in Silicon Valley,” 328; Roberts and Yamane eds., *Religion in Sociological Perspective*, 176

²³⁰ Examples from the *Kirishitan* Century include Oda Nobunaga’s 織田信長 (1534-1582) frequent audiences with the Jesuits and João Rodrigues (1561-1633) role in overseeing Nagasaki. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 126; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650*, 244-246.

²³¹ Bainbridge and Stark, “Client and Audience Cults in America,” 203. Elsewhere they write:

Magic...is limited to less general compensators for fairly specific rewards...magic will be limited to recovery from a particular illness or a charm against contracting the illness...magic may or may not be based on supernatural assumptions...The fundamental feature of magic is that it is a pseudoscience. Magic deals in such specific and immediate rewards that often it is subject to empirical verification...*Magic* refers to specific compensators that promise to provide desired rewards without regard for evidence concerning the designated means.

Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 104-105.

²³² This does not mean that magical services were not offered, however, the material benefits of interactions with the missionaries are clear. Before he accepted baptism, Ōtomo Sōrin’s 大友宗麟 (1530-1587) domain benefitted from Portuguese trade and the Jesuits’ establishment of an orphanage and hospital. Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” 316-318.

relationships formed during the *Kirishitan* Century. The Church was always desirous to create an organized Christian religious movement, although political circumstances and resources did not always allow this to happen, warranting the use of audience or consultant-client oriented methods and relationship forms. On the other hand, potential converts did not always have the ability or desire to accept a new system of ultimate meaning, and therefore chose to interact with Christianity on a more informal level either as an audience member or a client of the missionaries.

Stark and Bainbridge's model is popular, but doesn't lack critics or alternatives.²³³ Dawson argues that because cults vary in form, it would be useful to divide the category of cult movements in terms of mode of membership and forms of organization.²³⁴ Taves and Kinsella, on the other hand, note that Stark and Bainbridge assume that religious affiliation is exclusive.²³⁵ Stark and Bainbridge argue that participants in client cults maintain other exclusive religious affiliations, whereas Taves and Kinsella argue that membership is non-exclusive, and therefore that participants may identify as members of a client or audience cult as well as another organization.²³⁶ Taves and Kinsella therefore conclude:

²³³ An alternative model developed by Roy Wallis distinguishes between three types of cult based on how they orient themselves to the wider world. In his model cults are either world-rejecting, world-affirming, or world-accommodating. Wallis, *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life*.

²³⁴ Dawson, *Comprehending Cults*, 37-40.

²³⁵ Taves and Kinsella, "Hiding in Plain Sight: The Organizational Forms of 'Unorganized Religion'," 95.

²³⁶ Ibid.

In defining membership in terms of exclusivity, Stark and Bainbridge adopt criteria that the groups themselves do not. In doing so, they obscure...less familiar but potentially stable, forms of organization...²³⁷

Psychologists have traditionally assumed that involvement in cults relates to irrationality and pathological personality traits.²³⁸ In some cases it is true that people convert due to irrationality, pathology, or mental illness, and evidence suggests that:

people become *more religious* when they are sick, whether physically or mentally.

In situations of high psychological stress, religion is often used to help cope with or adapt to the distressing circumstances.²³⁹

Nevertheless, as Rambo notes, psychoanalysts often draw primarily on clinical case studies amongst psychologically ill participants, their work often being shaped by a tradition which views conversion negatively.²⁴⁰ The usefulness of applying these theories to the larger population, and to individuals for whom psychological records do not exist, is therefore questionable. In the field of sociology, relative deprivation and rational choice theories have been used extensively in the study of conversion to cults.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Dawson, *Comprehending Cults*, 73.

²³⁹ Koenig, "Religion, spirituality and psychotic disorders," 41.

²⁴⁰ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, 52, 143.

²⁴¹ Dawson, *Comprehending Cults*, 73-77.

One of the most influential models advanced for the study of conversion to cults (other than relative deprivation theory) is the Lofland-Stark model of conversion which was developed by John Lofland and Rodney Stark through their study of the Unification Church.²⁴² They offered:

a series of seven...successively accumulating factors, which in their total combination seem to account for conversion...seem necessary for conversion, and...appear to be sufficient conditions [for conversion].²⁴³

They note that the order in which such factors or conditions develop may vary, although ideally, they would develop in the order presented in their paper, and that:

the time of activation is the same whether a condition exists for a considerable time prior to its becoming relevant to...conversion or only develops in time to accomplish conversion.²⁴⁴

The seven conditions identified by Lofland and Stark are divided into two types; three conditions, which exist prior to a persons' interaction with a religion (predisposing

²⁴² Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 862-875.

²⁴³ Ibid., 863.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

conditions), and four based on interaction between the religion's members and potential converts, which lead to the successful conversion of predisposed people (situational contingencies).²⁴⁵ The seven conditions are summarized as follows:

For conversion a person must:

1. Experience enduring, acutely felt tensions
2. Within a religious problem-solving perspective,
3. Which leads him to define himself as a religious seeker;
4. Encountering the [religion] at a turning point in his life,
5. Wherein an affective bond is formed (or pre-exists) with one or more converts;
6. Where extra-cult attachments are absent or neutralized;
7. And, where, if he is to become a deployable agent, he is exposed to intensive interaction.²⁴⁶

Although developed through studying the Unification Church, they suggest that because the model is general enough it may be possible to apply it to other groups.²⁴⁷

Attempts to apply the Lofland-Stark model to other groups has produced mixed results, leading Dawson to argue that the steps:

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 864.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 874.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 875. Stark and Bainbridge note that the model is intended for use when exploring high-tension religious groups although aspects of it may be applicable to low-tension groups. Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 200.

do not represent so much an integrated and cumulative model of the actual process of conversion as a fairly adequate statement of some of the crucial 'conditions' of conversion.²⁴⁸

Indeed, David Snow and Cynthia Phillips found in their study of conversion to *Nichiren Shōshū* 日蓮正宗 in America that only cult affective bonds and intensive interaction were essential to conversion.²⁴⁹ They note that the conditions of tension, problem-solving, seekership, and turning point, are potentially reread by converts into their pasts as they reconstruct their biographies and world view after conversion.²⁵⁰ Willem Kox, Wim Meeus and Harm't Hart similarly argue that the conditions in the Lofland-Stark model are not cumulative and that potential converts do not have to meet each condition to convert, they therefore conclude that:

Lofland and Stark have not designed a step-by-step model of conversion; rather, they have pointed up a set of conditions for conversion.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Dawson, *Comprehending Cults*, 78-79.

²⁴⁹ Snow and Phillips, "The Lofland-Stark Conversion: A Critical Reassessment," 430-447. Roy Austin concurs with the conclusion that intensive interaction is necessary for conversion, but notes that other conditions may also be necessary for certain types of people. Austin, "Empirical Adequacy of Lofland's Conversion Model," 286.

²⁵⁰ Snow and Phillips, "The Lofland-Stark Conversion: A Critical Reassessment," 433-440.

²⁵¹ Kox, Meeus, and Hart, "Religious Conversion of Adolescents: Testing the Lofland and Stark Model of Religious Conversion," 238.

Following criticism of the model, Stark wrote that although the model was originally formulated as a series of cumulative steps, it is better to treat it as 'a collection of attractive ideas rather than as a compelling unified whole.'²⁵² In the case of this study, it is difficult to assess converts' microcontextual predisposing conditions (tension, problem-solving, and seekership), as this sort of data does not exist for most converts. On the other hand, the situational contingencies outlined by Lofland and Stark provide a useful lens through which to explore some conversions in the period.

It is a given that a potential convert must have direct or indirect interaction with a religion to convert to it. No person can convert without a knowledge of the existence of the other religion. Even substantial interaction with a religion does not necessarily result in conversion.²⁵³ Lofland and Stark discovered that a person may fulfil the predisposing conditions of their model and encounter the religion and its members, but fail to convert.²⁵⁴ In Stark's words conversion only occurred amongst those '*whose interpersonal ties to members overbalanced their ties to nonmembers.*'²⁵⁵ As such, conversion (excluding those resulting from mystical experience):

²⁵² Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 200.

²⁵³ Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 864.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Stark, *Cities of God*, 10.

is primarily about bringing one's religious behaviour into alignment with that of one's friends and relatives...[it] is primarily an act of conformity – but so is nonconversion. In the end it is a matter of the relative strength of social ties.²⁵⁶

The importance of the influence of social relationships on conversion is also attested to by other studies such as Chana Ullman's psychological exploration of conversion.²⁵⁷ This study will contend that conversion in Japan stemmed out of sustained relationships with missionaries and other Christians, or in the case of communal conversion through other sorts of social relationships. Nevertheless, social or interpersonal relations are not viewed as the sole cause of conversion or non-conversion; other political, social, and economic factors were key to governing whether such relations could be established, whether conversion was permissible, and therefore what forms conversion might or might not take.

This section argued that Christianity in Japan between 1549 and 1644 is best categorized as a cult. It also argued that despite problems with some parts of the Lofland-Stark model of conversion, the factor of interpersonal ties is highly important for influencing conversion. Other scholars have also produced stage-based models of conversion such as Roy L. Austin, who proposed a reformed version of the Lofland-Stark model.²⁵⁸ Rambo, who develops his own model based on the multidimensional and cumulative factors of context,

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 11.

²⁵⁷ Ullman, *The Transformed Self*, 78-86.

²⁵⁸ Austin, "Empirical Adequacy of Lofland's Conversion Model," 282-287.

crisis, quest, encounter, interaction, commitment, and consequences,²⁵⁹ also importantly notes that:

There is no one cause of conversion, no one process, and no one simple consequence of that process.²⁶⁰

This encapsulates the approach taken here, whilst facets of the Lofland-Stark model and indeed other models prove useful for assessing conversion in Japan they are not herein understood as universal criteria for understanding conversion.

The Non-Exclusivity of Conversion

Wingate notes that a person of one religion may be converted to a key element of another, a phenomenon he terms partial assimilation or belonging.²⁶¹ Such a phenomenon is explored at length by Catherine Cornille who distinguishes between five forms of multiple-religious belonging that may result from such a conversion or contextual circumstances.²⁶² These are:

²⁵⁹ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁶¹ Wingate, "Interreligious Conversion," 189.

²⁶² Cornille, "Multiple Religious Belonging," 325-328.

1. Cultural Belonging – involuntarily belonging to multiple religions due to belonging to a culture in which religions have assumed specific, complementary roles.
2. Family Belonging – involuntarily belonging to multiple religions due to being born into a multi-religious family.
3. Occasional Belonging – voluntary occasional and need-based belonging to or partaking in multiple religions or practices.
4. Believing without Belonging – voluntarily choosing one's religious identity from plural religious options the truth claims of which are understood as relative.
5. Asymmetrical Belonging – voluntarily belonging predominately to one religion while accepting elements of another.²⁶³

Recognising that conversion is not always an exclusive change is particularly important in the Japanese context in which time old religious plurality has led the religions present therein to be perceived as relative and understood subjectively, for religious identity to centre on social groupings rather than the individual, and for religions to divide their sacred roles.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Cornille's model is problematic. John Hick outlined the concept of religious exclusivism, which:

²⁶³ Ibid., 325-327.

²⁶⁴ Van Bragt, "Multiple Religious Belonging of the Japanese People," 8-9; Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*.

relates salvation/liberation to one particular tradition, so that it is an article of faith that salvation is restricted to this one group, the rest of mankind being either left out of account or explicitly excluded from the sphere of salvation.²⁶⁵

He furthermore noted that each major world religion 'assumes in one way or another its own unique superiority.'²⁶⁶ This sense of an inherent superiority and exclusivism present within different religions forms the basis of much conversion scholarship, which assumes conversion to be a choice between two or more exclusive religious options. In Katznelson and Rubin's words:

Categories such as Christian, Jew or Muslim, may be internally varied, but conversion is based on the idea that humankind is sorted into fixed and separate religious categories.²⁶⁷

It also forms the basis of Cornille's theories on multiple religious belonging, which whilst accepting that cross religious belonging and practice exist, assume that religions are by their nature exclusive, separate systems that a believer traverses through supplementary practices, involuntary belonging, or in some cases by identifying truth claims as relative. In the Japanese context, such an understanding can be problematic as the concept of

²⁶⁵ Hick, *Problems of Religious Pluralism*, 31.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

²⁶⁷ Katznelson and Rubin, "Introduction," 2.

belonging to a religion prevalent in the West and in Japan are inherently different. In Japan, a religion is not necessarily an exclusive belief system, religions are not necessarily completely distinct entities (at least historically), and a personal sense of belonging to a religion is not necessarily present.²⁶⁸ Moreover, practice often takes precedence over belief.²⁶⁹ In a more general sense, Henry Smith's assertion that cross-tradition practice leads to the construction of new mind-sets, spiritualities and cosmologies,²⁷⁰ helps to illustrate that cross religious or non-exclusive forms of conversion do not result in the convert clinging to two epistemes (contrary or complimentary, exclusive or relative) in their mind, but rather leads to the formation of a new religious identity and episteme.

Peter L. Berger, who understands conversion as 'individual "transference" into another world,'²⁷¹ writes that:

the individual who wishes to convert, and...to "stay converted," must engineer his social life in accordance with this purpose. Thus he must dissociate himself from those individuals or groups that constituted the plausibility structure of his past religious reality, and associate himself all the more intensively and...exclusively with those who serve to maintain his new one.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Van Bragt, "Multiple Religious Belonging of the Japanese People," 10-11.

²⁶⁹ Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, 15-20.

²⁷⁰ Smith, "Beyond Dual Religious Belonging: Roger Corless and Explorations in Buddhist-Christian Identity," 172.

²⁷¹ Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, 50.

²⁷² Ibid., 50-51.

Whilst this serves to reillustrate the importance of interpersonal relations, it is the very political, socio-economic, and religious reality of a convert's past which orients their understanding of the new. As Higashibaba asserts, the *Kirishitan* used their pre-existing religious understandings to interpret the meaning of Christianity,²⁷³ so too it can be argued do all converts. Conversion does not imply the abandonment of a convert's epistemological base and pre-conversion identity, but the evolution, growth and diversification of identity. In Japan, this point can be illustrated by looking at the historical and contemporary Christian preoccupation with questions of the salvation of ancestors.²⁷⁴ If religious truths are presumed to be exclusive by their nature, or if conversion implies the abandonment of pre-conversion plausibility structures and epistemes, then it lacks sense that converts (drawing upon the Japanese religious context) have questioned the salvation of their ancestors. The assertion that converts build on their pre-conversion epistemologies is also the starting point of world Christian theologies, which presuppose that contexts, political, social, economic and religious can be used to orient belief, practice, and theological reflection.

The non-exclusivity of conversion could be further complicated by the concept of Civil Religion.²⁷⁵ Robert Bellah defines Civil Religion as the:

²⁷³ Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the "Christian Century" in Japan," 76-78.

²⁷⁴ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 129-131.

²⁷⁵ Studies on Civil Religion in Japan mostly focus on the post-WWII period, see: Reader, "Civil Religion in Contemporary Japan," 6-31; Takayama, "Revitalization of Japanese Civil Religion," 328-341; Schmidt, "Civil Religion and Second Modernity in Japan: A Sociological Analysis," 7-30; Okuyama, "'Civil Religion' in Japan? Rethinking the Arguments and Their Implications," 61-77.

religious dimension, found...in the life of every people, through which it interprets its historical experience in the light of transcendent reality.²⁷⁶

Or to paraphrase Ian Reader it is the social, cultural, and religious sense of identity and belonging shared by most members of a society.²⁷⁷ The existence of Civil Religion would mean that all conversions (excluding those to deviant religions that reject the values and institutions of the Civil Religion) have a non-exclusive form. As converts change their spiritual beliefs their involvement in Civil Religion remains intact even if their interpretation of it is transformed.

All of this points to a much more complicated picture of conversion than is usually assumed. The context from which a person converts, and the other systems of belief and practice with which they remain involved after conversion, affect the conversion in ways that may run contrary to concepts of religious and conversionary exclusivity. In other words, because conversion is wrapped up in and influenced by a variety of pre-conversion and post-conversion contexts, it is not necessarily a choice between a set of exclusive religious options, although it might be viewed as such on the level of religious institutions. Taking all this into account, Hefner's observation that:

²⁷⁶ Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*, 3; Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditionalist World*, 168-189.

²⁷⁷ Reader, "Civil Religion in Contemporary Japan," 7-8.

conversion implies the acceptance of a new locus of self-definition, a new, though not necessarily exclusive, reference point for one's identity²⁷⁸

is particularly useful.

Problematizing Traditional Explorations of Conversion in the Kirishitan Century

This section seeks to outline some of the problems with understanding conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century. Most scholars have focused on conversion in the upper echelons of Japanese society for which numerous records exist,²⁷⁹ however, due to a sparsity of sources only a limited amount can be ascertained about the nature of conversion amongst the general population. This section proposes that traditional concepts of conversion fail to provide a basis for understanding conversions amongst the general populace during the period. Contrary to most post-Nock conversion scholarship, this study seeks to establish that conversion was neither a free personal choice nor a conscious turning, and did not necessarily result in a conscious understanding of the new belief system.²⁸⁰ The thesis argues that such a situation resulted from the context of the mission and its limitations.

²⁷⁸ Hefner, "Introduction: World Building and the Rationality of Conversion," 17. The words of Diane Austin-Broos may also be pertinently applied; 'Conversion...is neither syncretism nor absolute breach.' Austin-Broos, "The Anthropology of Conversion: An Introduction," 1.

²⁷⁹ One example is the focus on *Kirishitan daimyō*, which constitutes a large part of scholarship on conversion in the period, see: Yoshinaga, *Kyūshū no Kirishitan daimyō*; Okada, *Kirishitan daimyō*; Laures, *Kirishitan daimyō*; Yoshida, *Kirishitan daimyō*; Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 31-141; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 63-67.

²⁸⁰ Nock, *Conversion*, 5-7.

Higashibaba argues that the use of the terms “converts,” “conversion,” and “Christian,” in reference to the religious change experienced by the *Kirishitan* risks ascribing a non-existent theological uniformity to the *Kirishitan* religion.²⁸¹ Rather, “converts” interpreted Christian rites widely between ‘the Catholic theological explanations and the Japanese popular interpretations of religious ritual.’²⁸² Consequently, he argues that the missionaries failed to produce exclusively European-style Christians.²⁸³ Rather, the contemporaneous Japanese social, political, economic and religious contexts informed the religious change and experiences of the converts so that:

the sacredness of Christian symbols and rituals, may have been determined not by virtue of the inherent nature of those elements, but by virtue of their spatial, temporal, and cultural situations.²⁸⁴

According to Higashibaba, by “becoming Japanese” Christianity became popular.²⁸⁵ He notes that *Kirishitan* expressions of faith (and non-Euro-typical *Kirishitan*, or as he phrases it non-Priestly or lay *Kirishitan*, more generally) have traditionally been understood through

²⁸¹ Higashibaba, “Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the ‘Christian Century’ in Japan,” 73-74.

²⁸² Ibid., 89.

²⁸³ Ibid., 74.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 77.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 74.

value judgements as less genuine, less serious, worse or false.²⁸⁶ Such an observation is not unfounded; Boxer notes that converts in the Kansai 関西²⁸⁷ region were:

much better and more sincere than the majority of Kyushu converts, many of whom had simply followed the lead of their local daimyo, who were likely to display a regard for the Faith in direct proportion to their hopes of attracting Portuguese traders to their fiefs.²⁸⁸

Such judgements are often linked to the concept that the conversions of different *daimyō* and their subjects can be dichotomized as “true” or “real” conversions on the one hand, and conversions grounded in political or economic motives on the other.²⁸⁹ Despite their flaws, such judgments seem to reflect an aspect of the Jesuits’ own ascription of value to conversions amongst the Japanese.²⁹⁰ These judgments were both positive and negative,

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 74-75.

²⁸⁷ Also known as Kinki 近畿, contemporaneously known as Kinai 畿内 or Gokinai 五畿内.

²⁸⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 79.

²⁸⁹ See discussion in: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 32; Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyo*, 22-23; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 22; Okada, *Kirishitan daimyō*, 60-62. For Atsuyoshi Fujiwara this distinction is so prominent that he dichotomizes the motivations of converts thusly; ‘daimyo and merchants wanted to make profits from trade; ordinary people responded to a Christian view of humanity expressed in social ministries of compassion.’ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 169-172.

²⁹⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 78-83.

perhaps best elucidated by comparing the thoughts of Alessandro Valignano²⁹¹ (1539-1606CE), who believed that 'Japan is the only oriental country in which people have become Christians for the right reasons,'²⁹² and João Rodrigues (1561-1633CE), who believed that the Japanese could not understand the 'profound truths and fundamentals of Christianity.'²⁹³

Higashibaba's model seeks to illustrate that *Kirishitan* understandings of Christian doctrine were marked by a conscious or unconscious comparison on the part of converts between Catholic religious elements and their counterparts in Japanese religion.²⁹⁴ For Higashibaba, the meaning of Christian rites was learnt from the missionaries and their publications, but was also influenced by the freedom of *Kirishitan* to understand rites 'through the lens of their own traditional popular religion.'²⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the missionaries' ability to transfer the meaning of their rites to converts was limited by several factors that changed throughout the mission. As such, Higashibaba provides a stage based model (referred to at the beginning of this chapter) for understanding these evolving limitations. In the first stage from 1549-1580, he argues that due to both the small number of Jesuit personnel and linguistic barriers, the mission relied on ritual and symbol, and

²⁹¹ Visitor to Japan between 1579-1582CE, 1590-1592CE and 1598-1603CE. See: Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*; Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, 2 vols; Ross, "Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East," 336-351; Ross, "Alessandro Valignano, SJ," 503-513; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 64-90; Üçerler, "Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary, and write," 337-366.

²⁹² Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 51.

²⁹³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 218.

²⁹⁴ Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 78.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

therefore the *Kirishitan* were defined by their engagement in these rituals and symbols.²⁹⁶

The second stage, 1580-1614, was marked by the greater availability of doctrinal instruction stemming from the increased education of native and foreign missionary personnel and the publication of Japanese texts.²⁹⁷ For Higashibaba, this led to a greater familiarity with Christian theology amongst the *Kirishitan*.²⁹⁸ The final stage from 1614-1639, was a period in which martyrdom was emphasized and became the ultimate demonstration of faith.²⁹⁹

A more popular and traditional approach to the mission's history focuses on individual mission leaders and their policies, both of which shaped the nature of conversion and therefore provide a layer of insight that cannot be dismissed. Neil Fujita notes the existence of three missionary approaches employed in the *Kirishitan* Century:

1. The Jesuits' adaptational approach which sought to adapt the mission to local tradition, culture and social conditions.
2. The Jesuits' confrontational approach which sought to impose Christian teachings and practices without regard for local peculiarities.
3. The Franciscans' purist approach which was uncompromising in its own religious styles, but lacked the sense of the cultural superiority of the

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 75.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

confrontational approach, failing to compromise with the Japanese context but willing to contribute to it.³⁰⁰

Atsuyoshi Fujiwara follows Fujita's model identifying five shifts in the Jesuits' interaction with Japanese politics and culture which affected their approach. He states that these shifts:

move alternatively between seeking to be apolitical and seeking to influence matters through political and military powers. When the Jesuits tried to understand and value Japanese culture, they tended not to be involved in political affairs; when they disregarded the culture, they inclined to trying to control the situation by political and military power.³⁰¹

Fujita and Fujiwara's models are problematic in so far as they suggest that mission policy constantly swung between a set of diametrically opposed positions overlooking the diversity present in the Jesuit mission and the approaches of individual missionary personnel. For instance, Gneccchi-Soldo Organtino (1533-1609CE),³⁰² who falls into Fujita

³⁰⁰ Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, 132-133, 145.

³⁰¹ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 198-203.

³⁰² Biographies include: Cieslik, "Soldo Organtino: The Architect of the Japanese Mission," 1-16; Carminati, *P. Organtino Gneccchi Soldi S.J.: Il secondo padre della Cristianità Giapponese. Casto 1532 – Nagasaki 1609*; Matsuda, *Kagayaku Miyako no shito: Oruganchinno Shinpu koden*. Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 60-62.

and Fujiwara's pro-adaptational category,³⁰³ worked under Francisco Cabral (1529-1609CE),³⁰⁴ who embodies their confrontational approach. The existence of such figures illustrates an ongoing diversity in the mission in which both Jesuit approaches were simultaneously present. Moreover, the model risks suggesting that division was indicative of the mission, overlooking the fact that members of the religious orders were of the same theological tradition even if they were not completely unified in theological thought or approach to the Japanese. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that these varying approaches to the mission field affected conversion.

Limitations acting upon the mission and changes in the level of Christian theological understanding over time, provide useful starting points that require a detailed exploration beyond Higashibaba's thesis and beyond traditional explorations of individual mission leaders and their policies. Such an exploration will illustrate that it is unlikely that most converts acquired a complex understanding of Christian doctrine and theology, and furthermore that said understanding was for the most part inconsequential to the converts. As such, Nock's definition of conversion fails to apply to the religious change experienced during the period outside of a few anomalous examples. It must be noted that this study does not presuppose a complete lack of understanding of doctrine on the part of the

³⁰³ Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, 145; Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 200.

³⁰⁴ Cabral was Mission Superior from 1570-1580, see: Abe, "Francisco Cabral's Mission to Japan: His Correspondence and Perspective," 19-23; Matsuda, "Gokinai ni okeru Fukyōchō Furanshisuko Kaburaru Shinpu no dōsei," 46-62.

converts, although it will seek to suggest that this understanding was limited. Primarily the thesis seeks to problematize the extent to which a detailed understanding of the nature of conversion in the period can be ascertained outside of the conversions amongst the upper classes.

Conclusions

Theories of conversion often appear to be disparate threads of a wider narrative; each approach has advantages and disadvantages. As such, Rambo's and Kim's attempts to bring together these diverse pieces into wider theories of conversion³⁰⁵ are a useful starting point for approaching this complicated topic. The foregoing chapter assessed scholarship on Christianity in Japan, offered a definition of conversion, and explored ways of approaching conversion. To reiterate this definition, conversion in this study is understood as a change in the religious belief, affiliation and/or the practice of a group or an individual, presupposing:

- a) that the change includes either a new belief, affiliation, and/or practice which originated within a tradition or denomination with which the group or individual did not previously identify.
- or

³⁰⁵ Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*; Kim, *Understanding Religious Conversion*.

- b) A change belief, affiliation or practice following a previous change like that described in (a).

This chapter approached conversion in two ways by asking what conversion is, and what spurs it. On the first front, it argued that conversion and understandings of it are grounded in historical and theological contexts, that it is non-exclusive, that it could occur on an individual or group level, that it is part of a process, and that it is informed by the contexts influencing the convert both before and after their conversion. On the second front, it argued that a study of conversion to Christianity in Japan benefits from a macrocontextual approach that focuses on political and socio-economic contexts. Furthermore, it suggested that Christianity in Japan can be understood as a cult, and therefore that theories developed from the study of cults are potentially useful for studying Christianity in Japan. The thesis argues that conversion is limited and spurred by contextual factors, and that because these factors are multiple, the study of conversion cannot be reduced to a lone theory. It was not possible to explore the entirety of conversion scholarship, however, the theories and concepts outlined in this chapter are potentially the most useful for application to Japan.

As noted due to the complexity of conversion a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary for its study. Particularly useful are Stark's theories which have been verified as efficacious through independent studies and applied to an array of scenarios and time periods. As illustrated, Christianity in Japan can be treated as a cult or NRM, and therefore

Stark's theories concerning conversion to these groups should be applicable. Nevertheless, conversion scholarship constructed in the post-Enlightenment world, centred on individuals, and the free-choice of those individuals to convert, cannot be applied unquestionably to a period in which the methods of conversion and the understandings of what constituted conversion inherently differed. Indeed, the application of theories produced for the study of modern religious groups to the past, presupposes that human behaviour has not changed, but this may not be the case.

Wingate's observation that most conversions are part of process (rather than instantaneous) is an essential starting point, which necessitates exploration into contextual factors. Drawing on Rambo's exploration of macrocontext and microcontext, Higashibaba concurs with such an assessment when he writes that:

Rambo's observation provides a very useful insight to the study of Kirishitan by suggesting the examination of the broader Japanese social, political, economic, and religious contexts in order to understand Kirishitan belief and practices.³⁰⁶

As the ability of people to convert is governed by the legal possibility of conversion, political context is central to this work. This political context (which under Beidelman's definition can be described as colonial) as well as the missionary enterprise itself (attached as it was

³⁰⁶ Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan," 77.

to Iberian colonial powers) may benefit from the application theories developed in the study of conversion and colonialism. Nevertheless, because Japan was never a European colony and due to the large contextual differences, many of the Afro-centric studies outlined above can only be of limited use. As many scholars have illustrated links between economic incentives and conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century, the work of Last, Summers, and Ekechi which focus on the direct or perceived economic benefits of conversion are potentially useful.

Higashibaba's work provides the most valuable insights for studying *Kirishitan* Century conversion. Not only does he highlight the historical and contemporary issues of qualitatively judging conversion and converts, but he also provides a contextualized framework for understanding post-conversion religious belief and practice, the *Kirishitan* religion (and understandings of it), and the mission itself. Higashibaba's work, which is explored in more detail in Chapters Three and Four, illustrates the necessity of a non-exclusive approach to conversion. Although, this chapter disagreed with Cornille and others for approaching non-exclusivity in exclusive terms, it is important to reiterate the non-exclusivity of conversion, and the different degrees to which conversion may occur. Nock's work, which places conversion in contradistinction to adhesion, fails to be applicable to a period in which adhesion constituted conversion for the missionaries, the converts, and those in the political system. As such, alongside Higashibaba's work this thesis will draw

heavily on the work of Muldoon and others who have developed contextual theories for the study of conversion in the Middle Ages.

The next chapter explores the history and political context of the mission to Japan from its inception to its end. The first part of the chapter focuses on the arrival of the Jesuits in Japan and Asia more generally. The subsequent sections of the chapter describe the political circumstances affecting the mission during *Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代 (the Warring States Period) and during the rulerships of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the early Tokugawa *bakufu* 徳川幕府 (Tokugawa shogunate).

Chapter Two

Christianity and the Evolving Context of 16th and 17th Century Japan

The earliest documented conversions to Christianity took place in the period between the arrival of Francis Xavier (1506-1552CE)³⁰⁷ in 1549 and the last martyrdom of a Christian missionary in Japan, Mancio Konishi (1600-1644CE) in 1644,³⁰⁸ a period known as the *Kirishitan* Century. Traditionally English language scholarship on the period has focused on southern Japan, especially Kyushu, however Christianity reached every corner of the country.³⁰⁹ Japan's changing socio-political context was the most important factor influencing, expanding, and restricting both the mission and conversion. The *Kirishitan* Century traversed three periods of Japanese history, the end of the Muromachi Period (*Muromachi jidai* 室町時代, 1336-1573CE), the entirety of the Azuchi-Momoyama Period

³⁰⁷ Biographies include: Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 2 vols; Xavier, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta: ex integro refecta textibus, introductionibus, notis, appendicibus auctua*; Bartoli and Maffei, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier: Apostle of the Indies and Japan*; Cieslik, *Furanshisuko Zabieru: kibō no kiseki*; Venn, *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier*. Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, 100-137.

³⁰⁸ For a brief chronology of the period, see: Kirishitan Bunkwa Kenkyu Kwai (Institute of Early Japanese Christian Culture) ed., *Chronology of Kirishitan (Early Christian Era in Japan)*.

³⁰⁹ Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 85-108.

(*Azuchi Momoyama jidai* 安土桃山時代, 1573-1603CE), and the beginning of the Edo Period (1603-1868CE),³¹⁰ and consequently, also traversed Japan's transformation from medieval (*Chūsei* 中世) to early modern (*Kinsei* 近世).³¹¹ The mission was thereby subjected to the shifting socio-political situation and governance associated with each period and the transition between them. Crossing these contexts and time periods the *Kirishitan* Century is often divided into two parts, a period of growth (1549-1614CE) and a period of persecution and hiding which extends from 1614 beyond the end of the *Kirishitan* Century until the re-emergence of the *Kirishitan* in 1865 and the end of persecution in 1873.³¹²

This chapter describes the genesis of the Jesuit missions to Japan and the changing Japanese political context within which the mission existed. It argues that the mission's success or failure was intimately tied to this changing political context. Moreover, the chapter argues that the eventual turn of those in power against Christianity was the result of cumulative factors including the Tokugawa *bakufu*'s consolidation of political power, trade concerns, fear of colonization, and a series of seemingly random scandals. The chapter concludes that anti-*Kirishitan* policy was part of a wider political shift through which the Tokugawa *bakufu*, following their Oda and Toyotomi forbearers, attempted to control the controllable and outlaw the uncontrollable elements of society.

³¹⁰ Frédéric, "Historical and Artistic Periods," 336.

³¹¹ Hall, Nagahara, and Yamamura, "Introduction," 11; Ebisawa, *Nanban bunka – Nichiō bunka kōshō*, 2; Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 21.

³¹² Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 3-4. Miyazaki Kentarō provides a similar model. Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan: Orasho*, 18-21; Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 4-5.

The Arrival of the Jesuits in Japan

The Society of Jesus (*Iezusukai* イエズス会) emerged in what Jonathan Wright terms a ‘new found frailty in Christendom’³¹³ perhaps better described as a ‘shattering of Christian unity’³¹⁴ which followed the Sack of Rome in 1527, growing religious animosity, the Reformation,³¹⁵ and wider challenges and changes to traditional European systems of knowledge.³¹⁶ Christianity as experienced by the Jesuit founders was complex, ‘local environments routinely outflanked or complicated centralizing mandates’³¹⁷ so that it tolerated and encouraged a range of religious actors, and emphasized various commitments and elements.³¹⁸ Religious dissent and criticism were not exclusive to the growing numbers of rebelling and persecuted Protestants in Europe, although they played a central role in the creation of a divided Christendom.³¹⁹ Rather, the Catholic laity also demanded improvements to the clergy, sermons and other practices.³²⁰ Religious upheaval was only one facet of the early 16th Century European context. Socio-political change was spurred by Spain’s and Portugal’s emergence as new political, economic and military powers, the discovery of the Americas which radically expanded the boundaries of the

³¹³ Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Histories*, 14-15. Christopher Hollis notes that the division of Christendom was not a new phenomenon, but had been developing long before the Reformation. Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits*, 7.

³¹⁴ Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540-1750*, 3.

³¹⁵ Wright, *The Jesuits*, 14-15; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 5, 24-27.

³¹⁶ Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits, 1540*, 26-58.

³¹⁷ Homza, “The religious milieu of the young Ignatius,” 13.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-26.

³¹⁹ Wright, *The Jesuits*, 18-19.

³²⁰ Homza, “The religious milieu of the young Ignatius,” 13.

known world, and naval developments which allowed the New and Old worlds to be easily traversed.³²¹ Globally, Christendom was further threatened by the rise of the Turks, and associated risks to the sovereignty of Christian lands in the Mediterranean.³²² The Church responded with reforms following the Council of Trent (1545-1563), improvements to her religious orders, the creation of new orders including the Jesuits,³²³ and the dispatch of missionaries around the world.³²⁴ The Jesuits' founding moments took place in Paris on August 15th, 1534, in the midst of these highly complicated theological and political situations.³²⁵ The Order was officially recognized by the Church in Pope Paul II's papal bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, in 1540.³²⁶ In Europe, the Order evolved to combat heresy, however, for the early Jesuits and many who followed, it was pilgrimage and the spread of the faith to distant lands which was of central importance.³²⁷ Although the Jesuits developed as a unique religious order, they were firmly the product of 16th Century Catholicism, monastic tradition, and interaction with Europe's contemporaneous theological-political context.³²⁸

³²¹ Ibid.; Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*, 1-21; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 28-31.

³²² Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 3; Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits*, 3-25.

³²³ Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 3; O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History*, 71-87.

³²⁴ Li, "Jesuit Missionaries and the Transmission of Christianity and European Knowledge in China," 49.

³²⁵ Wright, *The Jesuits*, 20-25.

³²⁶ This was revised in Pope Julius III's *Exposcit debitum* (1550). O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate?*, 37.

³²⁷ Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East*, 5.

³²⁸ Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*, 134; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 21; O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 23-50. J. Michelle Molina notes that whilst the Jesuits had monastic roots, the development of their tradition can also be viewed as a break from these roots. Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Ethic and Spirit of Global Expansion, 1520-1767*, 23-49.

The Jesuits reached India on May 6th, 1542,³²⁹ following the establishment of maritime relations with India by Vasco da Gama in 1498, the creation of the “State of India” in 1505,³³⁰ and the establishment of the See of Goa by the Portuguese in 1534.³³¹ In 1557, Goa became an archbishopric and primatial See of the East Indies acting as the centre of the Jesuits East Asian Mission, with the diocese of Funai 府内³³² in Japan falling under its remit from 1588.³³³ Following the Jesuit takeover of the administration of the College of Goa in 1548, India became the Jesuit seat of learning in Asia.³³⁴ From this Indian base the Jesuits followed the Portuguese throughout Asia, spreading to Malacca, Indochina, Indonesia, the Maluku Islands and China.³³⁵ After capturing Malacca in 1511,³³⁶ the first official Portuguese ambassadors travelled to China in 1517.³³⁷ Individual Portuguese traders reached China as early as 1514, and although this led to successive attempts to open permanent commercial and ecclesiastical relations with the mainland, these goals were not achieved until the establishment of Macau 澳門³³⁸ in 1557 and the permittance of Michele

³²⁹ Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*, 134; Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall*, 17.

³³⁰ Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, 1.

³³¹ Üçerler, “The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan,” 42; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 2-6. On the Jesuits in Goa, see: Matsuda, *Ōgon no Goa seisuiki: Ōa no setten o tazunete*, 12-79.

³³² Modern day Ōita 大分.

³³³ Üçerler, “The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan,” 42.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

³³⁵ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 40-41.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 14; De Sá de Meneses, *The Conquest of Malacca*. Sar Desai, “The Portuguese Administration in Malacca, 1511-1641,” 501-512.

³³⁷ Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, xx.

³³⁸ Macau eventually served as the centre of the Jesuits’ East Asian mission. Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754*, 24; Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, 35-41; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 528-551.

Ruggieri (C. Luó Míngjiān 羅明堅, 1543-1607CE) to reside on the mainland in Zhàoqīng 肇慶 in 1582.³³⁹ In comparison to India, Portuguese influence and power were weak in Indonesia, Indochina and Malacca, and therefore traders and missionaries failed to have a lasting impact.³⁴⁰ The difficulties faced by the Portuguese in these areas, alongside their ability to act as middlemen in the facilitation of Sino-Japanese trade, which was officially prohibited due to *Wakō* 倭寇 (pirate) raids on China, contributed to a Portuguese focus on Japan.³⁴¹

Although the Portuguese had met Japanese aboard vessels in Malacca as early as 1511, and had interacted with them elsewhere in Asia,³⁴² interest in and knowledge of Japan waned as establishing Sino-Portuguese relations took precedence.³⁴³ It was not until the accidental Portuguese “discovery” of Japan in the early 1540s, that interest in the nation increased.³⁴⁴ Portuguese interest in Japan seems to have been primarily rooted in trade,

³³⁹ Gregory, *The West and China since 1500*, 29-51; Laven, *Mission to China*, 3-19; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 27-41; Wills, Jr. “Relations with maritime Europeans, 1514-1662,” 336-345.

³⁴⁰ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 40.

³⁴¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 7-8, 91-93.

³⁴² Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion: With Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation*, 240-241. During the Muromachi period (*Muromachi jidai* 室町時代, 1336-1573), Japan had re-established diplomatic relations with China, and established a large network of trade, piracy and overseas settlements (*Nihon machi* 日本町/日本街 or *Nihonjin machi* 日本人町/日本人街). Tanaka with Sakai, “Japan’s Relations with Overseas Countries,” 159-178; Kawazoe and Hurst III, “Japan and East Asia,” 396-446; Elisonas, “The Inseparable Trinity: Japan’s relations with China and Korea,” 235-330. On *Nihonmachi*, see: Adachi, “Emigrants from Japan,” 77-78; Cieslik, *Sekai o aruita Kirishitan*, 164-166; Tashiro, “Chōsen ni akareta Nihonjin machi,” 240-259; Matsuda, *Ōgon no Goa seisuiki: Ōa no setten o tazunete*, 160-222.

³⁴³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 14.

³⁴⁴ Portuguese traders first came to Japan accidentally in or around 1543. Boxer disputes traditional accounts that suggest that Japan was discovered by Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509-1583) in 1542/1543 arguing that other Portuguese likely visited before him. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 14-27; Gonzagowski, “The Subversion of Empire as Farce in Fernão Mendes Pinto’s *Peregrinação*,” 31-40; Wiessala, *European Studies in Asia: Contours of a Discipline*, 62-63. For Pinto’s account, see: Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação de*

and especially in their ability to facilitate and profit from trade between China and Japan.³⁴⁵ Traditionally, the Japanese desire for firearms and European knowledge have been highlighted as two of the primary factors in the establishment of trade.³⁴⁶ However, whilst it is true that there was a desire to procure firearms and European knowledge in Japan, to conclude that this was the sole impetus behind Portuguese-Japanese trade relies on the Orientalist assumption that the Japanese had little of “worth” to offer their “superior” European trade partners. Conversely, the Portuguese ability to produce huge profits on the trade of Japanese precious metals including silver, which at the time accounted for a third of the world’s production, alongside the Jesuits’ successes, seems to have secured Portuguese interest in the country.³⁴⁷ This interest was compounded by a strong Japanese market for luxury goods including silk, deer skins, ivory and sandalwood,³⁴⁸ which would create a highly profitable trade network for the Portuguese who held the monopoly on European trade until the early 17th Century.³⁴⁹ Although Jesuit relations with Portuguese

Fernam Mendez Pinto; Mendez Pinto, *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*; Mendes Pinto, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*.

³⁴⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 7-8; Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 41.

³⁴⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 28-31.

³⁴⁷ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 5-6; Flynn and Giráldez, “Born with a ‘Silver Spoon’: The Origin of World Trade in 1571,” 201-221; Boxer, “The Affair of the ‘Madre de Deus.’ A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan,” 9-11; Atwell, “International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy circa 1530-1650,” 68-90. Xavier notes the potentially highly valuable trade of precious metals in his November 5th, 1549 letter to Father Antonio Gomez written in Kagoshima, and encourages Gomez to spread the word to Portuguese traders in Goa. His letter to Don Pedro de Silva, Commandant of Malacca written on the same date makes similar comments. Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 270-273, 279-281.

³⁴⁸ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 91-92; Cooper, “The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade,” 423-433.

³⁴⁹ Boxer, “The Affair of the ‘Madre de Deus.’ A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan,” 8-10.

traders were not always harmonious, it was expanding Portuguese trade and not conquest that made the opening of the mission possible.³⁵⁰ In fact, the conversion of native populations existed in a symbiotic relationship with the Portuguese and Spanish systems of navigation, conquest, colonization, and trade.³⁵¹

If Portuguese interests in Japan were motivated by trade, the Jesuit mission, at least initially, was linked to Xavier's disillusionment with his mission to South East Asia³⁵² and after meeting his eventual translator, Yajirō ヤジロウ,³⁵³ in 1547, his growing hope that the Japanese could be converted.³⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the possibility of commencing both trade and mission activities in Japan was directly linked to the division of the East and West Indies

³⁵⁰ Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770*, 56. Several sources pertaining to Portuguese-Japanese trade and relations during the period are included in: Takase, "Kirishitan jidai no Nichipo gaikō ni okeru lezusukai senkyōshi," 51-109.

³⁵¹ Takase, "A Igreja Cristã (Kirishitan) no Japão e os Poderes Unificadores Japoneses nos Séculos XVI e XVII – Kirishitan to tōitsu kenryoku (shōzen)," 186.

³⁵² Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 18-19.

³⁵³ Alternatively spelt ヤジロー, also known as Anjirō アンジロー, Anger, Angier, Paulo de Santa Fé, Paul and other variations. Yajirō was Japanese. After murdering a man, he fled Japan, meeting Xavier in Malacca in 1547. A Shingon 真言宗 Buddhist, he subsequently converted to Christianity. The Jesuits regarded him as intellectually capable, due to his ability to grasp Christian concepts and learn Portuguese, and therefore sought to learn about the Japanese religious environment from him, however, he was likely illiterate in Japanese and uneducated. Scholars have argued that his death on a pirate raid and the use of pirate ships to transport Xavier's party to and from Japan, illustrate that Yajirō was a pirate. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 32; Bartoli and Maffei, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, 299-312; Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 1, 417-422; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 307; Xavier, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, vol. 2, no. 79, 71; Cieslik, *Sekai o aruita Kirishitan*, 10-43; Ebisawa, *Kirishitanshi no Kenkyū*, 228-252.

³⁵⁴ Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 19-27. Yajirō's conversations with Xavier alongside reports from Portuguese merchants fomented this hope. In his first letter mentioning Japan written in Cochin on January 21st, 1548, Xavier notes several times that he has been assured that a mission to Japan would be more efficacious than his mission to India, and at several points links his hopes to Yajirō. In an account of Japan drawn from Yajirō's testimony and dispatched to Loyola, written in Cochin in January 1549, Xavier notes religious similarities between Japanese religion and Catholicism, which doubtlessly also inspired his hopes of gaining converts there. Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 1, 417-421; Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 208-215. See also: Bartoli and Maffei, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, 299-312; Yamato, "Kirishitan jidai saishoki ni okeru Kirisutokyō to Bukkyō no kōshō," 109-139.

between Portugal and Spain.³⁵⁵ In 1493, Pope Alexander VI promulgated the papal bulls *Eximiae devotionis*, *Inter caetera* and *Dudum siquidem*, collectively known as the Bulls of Donation or the Alexandrine Bulls, which divided the Indies, and provided Portugal and Spain with the rights to civil and religious administration over the lands they discovered.³⁵⁶ The nations formalized this agreement a year later with the Treaty of Tordesillas.³⁵⁷ The merging of the crowns in 1580 complicated the situation, although Spain and Portugal's respective colonial empires continued to be governed separately.³⁵⁸ Pope Gregory XIII's *Supa specula* (1576) created a diocese based in Macau that incorporated China and Japan, and from 1585 to 1600 the Jesuits held exclusive rights to the mission allowing them to gain a monopoly before other Orders entered the mission field.³⁵⁹ Franciscans visited intermittently before 1590, but did not establish a mission.³⁶⁰ A Dominican came as ambassador of the Spanish Philippines in 1592, a role which was taken over by the Franciscans between 1593 and 1597.³⁶¹ From 1598 to 1640, the Franciscans maintained a

³⁵⁵ Üçerler, "The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan," 41.

³⁵⁶ Ibid. For discussion, see: Hoffman, "Diplomacy and the Papal Donation 1493-1585," 151-183; Linden, "Alexander VI. And the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494," 1-20; Takase, "A Igreja Cristã (Kirishitan) no Japão e os Poderes Unificadores Japoneses nos Séculos XVI e XVII – Kirishitan to tōitsu kenryoku (shōzen)," 187-188.

³⁵⁷ Üçerler, "The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan," 41.

³⁵⁸ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 46.

³⁵⁹ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 10-11; Wiest, "Learning from the Missionary Past," 194.

³⁶⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 160; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 80. Visits in 1582 and 1584 are explored in: Willeke and Yanagiya, "Saisho no Furanshisuko kaishi no raichō," 249-271. For an outline of Franciscan visits between 1582 and 1590, see: Tsuzukibashi, *Nihon Furanshisukokaishi nenpyō: hōgo • hōyaku shiryō ni motozuku shian*, 7-8.

³⁶¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 160-171; Tsuzukibashi, *Nihon Furanshisukokaishi nenpyō*, 9-19.

presence in Japan,³⁶² the Dominicans and the Augustinians joined the mission field in 1601 and 1602 respectively.³⁶³ Despite the presence of other Orders, the Jesuits always remained the most numerous in the mission field.³⁶⁴

In summation, although the birth of the mission stemmed from a combination of Xavier's disillusionment and hope, and was sustained by its success, its formation was inextricably bound to European politics and the Vatican's decisions. With the world divided between Portugal and Spain the mission's existence was also linked to Portuguese trade. Ongoing Portuguese and missionary interest in Japan was driven by the Portuguese ability to make large profits on this trade, their failures elsewhere in East Asia, and the mission's successes.

Sengoku Jidai

Richard Storry writes that the Muromachi Period was 'marred by almost continuous violence, amounting to full-scale civil war.'³⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the weakness of the Muromachi *bakufu* 室町幕府 (Muromachi shogunate) stemmed not from an inability to gain possession of secular authority, but from its difficulty in exercising that authority.³⁶⁶

³⁶² Tsuzukibashi, *Nihon Furanshisukokaishi nenpyō*, 20-81

³⁶³ Wilberforce, *Dominican Missions and Martyrs in Japan*, 3; Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549-1650*, 6.

³⁶⁴ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 10-11.

³⁶⁵ Storry, *A History of Modern Japan*, 42.

³⁶⁶ Hall, "The Muromachi bakufu," 175-177.

The Ōnin War (*Ōnin no Ran* 応仁の乱) which began in 1467 from a succession dispute,³⁶⁷ led to the opening of a period of civil war and uprisings known as *Sengoku jidai*. The period ended following successive phases of pacification and unification, under Oda Nobunaga,³⁶⁸ Toyotomi Hideyoshi,³⁶⁹ Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616CE)³⁷⁰ and their allies.³⁷¹ *Sengoku jidai* was marked by a collapsing Japanese political system;³⁷² the country was ruled by approximately 120 locally autonomous *daimyō*, the majority of whom had only recently emerged as political powers, many through *gekokujo* 下剋上 (the supplanting of lords by their vassals).³⁷³ The *bakufu* 幕府 (shogunate) had provided the only effective system of guaranteeing land rights and adjudicating disputes, but its decline spawned a system without a superior authority, resulting in constant, widespread conflict between the *daimyō*.³⁷⁴ The collapse of traditional authority spurred not only the emergence of and

³⁶⁷ Varley, "Warfare in Japan 1467-1600," 60; Yamada, *Sengoku no Katsuryoku*, 18; Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 16-17.

³⁶⁸ Biographies include: Ōta, *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*. Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered*; Kanda, *Oda Nobunaga*; Kaneko, *Oda Nobunaga "Tenkabuto" no jitsuzō*; Ikegami, *Oda Nobunaga*.

³⁶⁹ Biographies include: Berry, *Hideyoshi*; Turnbull, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi*; Denning and Denning, *The Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*; Kuwata, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū*; Kuwata, *Taikō Toyotomi Hideyoshi*; Suzuki, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi*.

³⁷⁰ Biographies include: Sadler, *Shogun: The Life of Tokugawa Ieyasu*; Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan: The Life of Tokugawa Ieyasu*; Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun*; Kuwata, *Tokugawa Ieyasu*; Yamaji, *Tokugawa Ieyasu*, 2 vols; Futaki, *Tokugawa Ieyasu*.

³⁷¹ *Sengoku Jidai's* end date is debated, Yamada Kuniaki notes that some scholars date it to Nobunaga's ascension in 1573, whilst others use Nobunaga's entry into Kyoto in 1568, Hideyoshi's victory over the Hōjō Clan (*Hōjō shi* 北条氏) in 1590, or the Siege of Osaka (*Ōsaka no Jin* 大坂の陣) in 1615. Yamada, *Sengoku no Katsuryoku*, 18; Hall, "The Muromachi bakufu," 225. On the unification of the country see: Asao and Susser, "The sixteenth-century unification," 40-95; Hall, Nagahara, and Yamamura, "Introduction," 7-10.

³⁷² Elison, "Introduction: Japan in the Sixteenth Century," 1.

³⁷³ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 26. Yamada, *Sengoku no Katsuryoku*, 146-148; Matsuoka with Arnesen, "The Sengoku Daimyo of Western Japan: The Case of Ōuchi," 64-65; Hall, Nagahara, and Yamamura, "Introduction," 9. On the *daimyō* of the period, see: Okuno, *Sengoku Daimyō*.

³⁷⁴ Hall, "Japan's Sixteenth-Century Revolution," 7, 16.

conflict between *daimyō*, but also the recurring resistance of the peasant classes, their default on taxes and inter-domainal migration.³⁷⁵ Religious organizations also revolted, and some held and administered their own provinces and militaries, notably the *Jōdo Shinshū* 浄土真宗 sect *Ikkō Ikki* 一向一揆.³⁷⁶ The contextual elements associated with *Sengoku Jidai* including political insecurity and conflict continued to inform the policy of leaders during the subsequent periods of pacification and unification until the early Edo period.

Arriving in this context, the Jesuits' fortunes could change overnight; they required the protection of the *daimyō* in order to preach safely, but their progress risked destruction following the potential capture of provinces by hostile forces or changes in policy at the whim of their patrons.³⁷⁷ For example, *daimyō* Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟 (1530-1587CE)³⁷⁸ baptized in 1578 held power over Bungo 豊後, Buzen 豊前, Chikuzen 筑前, Chikugo 筑後, Hizen 肥前, Higo 肥後, parts of Hyūga 日向 and Iyo 伊予, however, less than thirteen weeks after his baptism the Ōtomo clan (*Ōtomo shi* 大友氏) lost much of their land and power following defeat to the Shimazu clan (*Shimazu shi* 島津氏).³⁷⁹ Similarly, the missionaries

³⁷⁵ Matsuoka with Arnesen, "The Sengoku Daimyo of Western Japan: The Case of Ōuchi," 71-75; Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 23-26. On the peasantry of the era, see: Yamada, *Sengoku no Katsuryoku*, 210-225.

³⁷⁶ Hall, "Japan's Sixteenth-Century Revolution," 11; Richmond Tsang, *War and Faith: Ikkō Ikki in late Muromachi Japan*; Matsuo, "Sengokuki Kaga no chiiki kenryoku to Honganji shugoken," in three parts, 29-39, 41-50, 51-57; Kanda, "Ikkō Ikki to Sōkoku Ikki wa ikani kanren suru ka," 231-241; Kanda, "Kaga Ikkō Ikki no hassei," 1654-1672.

³⁷⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 42; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 21.

³⁷⁸ Biographies include: Laures, *Kirishitan daimyō*, 5-25; Takemoto, *Ōtomo Sōrin*; Toyama, *Ōtomo Sōrin*; Hokusui, *Ōtomo Sōrin: Kirishitan daimyō*; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 76-85; Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 217-226.

³⁷⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 21-25; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 335-343; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 76-85.

were expelled from Kyoto by Emperor Ōgimachi 正親町 (1517-1593CE) in 1564, and could only return after 1569.³⁸⁰ A later example is that of Ōmura Yoshiaki 大村喜前 (1568-1615CE),³⁸¹ successor to *Kirishitan daimyō* キリシタン大名, Ōmura Sumitada 大村純忠 (1533-1587CE).³⁸² In 1606, Yoshiaki expelled the Jesuits from Ōmura domain (*Ōmura han* 大村藩),³⁸³ an area with a large *Kirishitan* population,³⁸⁴ reverting the domain to Buddhism due to a dispute over the governance of Nagasaki 長崎.³⁸⁵ Accordingly, in order to address the high risk, volatile context in which they worked the missionaries required a widespread base to reduce the risks associated with being attached to a single province or *daimyō*.³⁸⁶

In 1568, Oda Nobunaga entered Kyoto, leading to the instalment of Ashikaga Yoshiaki 足利義昭 (1537-1597CE) as shogun (*shōgun* 將軍).³⁸⁷ The championing of a pretender by a *daimyō* was not uncommon during the period.³⁸⁸ Nevertheless, Nobunaga's subsequent seizure of political and military power, his defeat of Yoshiaki and his allies, and his concentration and centralization of political power marked the first steps towards

³⁸⁰ Nosco, "Secrecy and Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 5.

³⁸¹ For biographical information, see: Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 43-52.

³⁸² For biographical information, see: Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 35-43.

³⁸³ Overviews on the *Kirishitan* Century in Ōmura are included in: Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 323-331; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 338-345; Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 35-53; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no Kirishitan*, 18-22.

³⁸⁴ In 1574, Sumitada had decreed the complete conversion of his vassals and subjects, and the destruction of Japanese religious institutions. Cabral, "Copie d'une lettre escripte du P. François Gabriel Supérieur de la Compagnie du nom de Iesus au Japon," 13-15; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 327-328.

³⁸⁵ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 328; Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance, Book One*, 172.

³⁸⁶ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 21.

³⁸⁷ Fujiki with Elison, "The Political Posture of Oda Nobunaga," 149.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

creating a unified Japan.³⁸⁹ By the time of his suicide following an assassination attempt in 1582, Nobunaga had extended influence over a third of the country. The total unification and pacification of the country fell to his successor and former vassal, Hideyoshi, who through a combination of conquest and diplomacy unified Japan by 1590.³⁹⁰ The mission was 'inseparably tied to the fates of the Country at War.'³⁹¹ In other words, Japan's socio-political context restricted the potential success of the early mission due to its inherent insecurity, civil war, and changes in local and national leadership. The end of *Sengoku* spurred the rise of a new political context in which the Jesuits and the *Kirishitan* would face a new set of challenges. For Jurgis Elisonas (George Elison) these changes led to the end of Jesuit freedom.³⁹² Nevertheless, although the end of *Sengoku* marked the beginning of new challenges, the mission's progress, tied as it was to the context of a country at war, had only ever been tentatively in the Jesuits' control.

Hideyoshi

The Jesuits garnered favour with Nobunaga, and whilst his actions against Buddhist insurgency and his persecution of Buddhism benefitted the missionaries in the short

³⁸⁹ Naohiro and Susser, "The sixteenth-century unification," 40-95; Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 41-65.

³⁹⁰ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 66-98.

³⁹¹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 21.

³⁹² Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 331.

term,³⁹³ it also set the precedent for his successors' anti-Christian policies.³⁹⁴ Initially Hideyoshi also tolerated Christianity, and following Nobunaga sought to limit the power of the Buddhist priesthood.³⁹⁵ However, on the 19th of the 6th month of *Tenshō* 天正 15 (1587CE), Hideyoshi issued the *Bateren tsuihō rei* 伴天連追放令,³⁹⁶ a decree ordering all priests to leave within twenty days. Although this was not strenuously enforced due to Hideyoshi's preoccupation with completing the unification of Japan, it set a precedent for the martyrdoms at Nagasaki in 1597 and the banning of Christianity by Ieyasu in 1612 and 1614.³⁹⁷ It is unlikely that the genesis of Hideyoshi's policy was either the result of drunken rage or a long term conspiracy against Christianity made impossible through the Jesuits' role in essential Portuguese trade, as was asserted by contemporary Christian writers, although the Jesuit role in trade did limit the degree to which the *decree* was enforced.³⁹⁸ Nor was it primarily the result of theological concerns, although the author (a former Buddhist monk named Yakuin Zensō 薬院全宗, 1526-1600CE) declared Japan to be "the

³⁹³ Joan-Pau Rubiés notes that Nobunaga could use the Jesuits and Christianity to weaken the power of Buddhism. Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 254. See also: Kitagawa, "Japanese Religion," 321.

³⁹⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 2, 25-27; Fujiki with Elison, "The Political Posture of Oda Nobunaga," 162-163, 186, 190-191. On Nobunaga's policy towards Buddhism, see: McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*.

³⁹⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 139. On Hideyoshi's policy towards Buddhism, see: McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 236-263.

³⁹⁶ Alternatively バテレン追放令. Japanese text included in: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 69-70; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 266-267. English translations included in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 115-116; Elisonas, "Decree," 168. Elison's translation is found in edited form in: Andrea and Overfield eds., *The Human Record: Sources of Global History, Volume II: Since 1500*, 119. Photographs of the handwritten text are included in: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 190-191.

³⁹⁷ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 55-66.

³⁹⁸ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 76; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 150-154.

Land of the gods” in the first clause of the decree, this section served not to establish the truth of theological claims, but to provide Hideyoshi with political legitimacy and external authority.³⁹⁹ Rather, Hideyoshi’s policy was a pragmatic and rational response to an aspect of society which potentially threatened the socio-political order he was attempting to create.⁴⁰⁰ Fujita views this as relating to Hideyoshi’s “unwarranted” ‘suspicion of the Jesuits possessing some covert plan to topple his government and take over the whole country’⁴⁰¹ and the “misunderstanding” that Christianity was part of the European colonial scheme.⁴⁰² Fujiwara similarly argues that Hideyoshi needed an external enemy in order to unite the Japanese, and therefore sought to spread suspicions regarding Portugal.⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, such conclusions which place Europe at the centre overlook the fact that his policy was primarily concerned with internal affairs.⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore, construing Hideyoshi’s conduct as grounded in unwarranted and irrational suspicion and misunderstanding is problematic.

That the Jesuits had political intentions was not a mere suspicion, it was grounded firmly in their conduct. It is perhaps a step too far to assert that the cession of Nagasaki and Mogi 茂木 in 1580 and Urakami 浦上 in 1584 established the Jesuits as the holders of their own domains, as these provinces can neither be described as colonies nor completely

³⁹⁹ Fujita, *Japan’s Encounter with Christianity*, 117-119.

⁴⁰⁰ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 58-59.

⁴⁰¹ Fujita, *Japan’s Encounter with Christianity*, 120, 259.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 260.

⁴⁰³ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 167.

⁴⁰⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 132.

independent from the *daimyō* with which they were temporally associated.⁴⁰⁵ However, alongside their independent involvement in trade, the fortification and stockpiling of weaponry and munitions in these provinces under Valignano⁴⁰⁶ and the targeting of the politically powerful for conversion,⁴⁰⁷ established the Jesuits as a potential threat to the political order. Although, the Portuguese and Spanish never drew up proposals to conquer Japan,⁴⁰⁸ and Christianity was not imposed at 'the point of the sword,'⁴⁰⁹ the Jesuit founders instilled a combative spirit into the Order whose members would serve as the soldiers of God.⁴¹⁰ The Jesuits' militaristic attitudes are perhaps best illustrated in the actions of Superior and Vice-Provincial, Gaspar Coelho (1530-1590CE),⁴¹¹ who not only met Hideyoshi aboard his own ship adorned with artillery less than a week before the *decree* was promulgated, but on several occasions had made failed requests for Iberian military

⁴⁰⁵ Pacheco, "The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki and its Cession to the Society of Jesus," 312-323; Hesselink, *The Dream of a Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560-1640*, 52-57, 66-68, 72; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no Kirishitan*, 29-32; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 77-79.

⁴⁰⁶ Hesselink, *The Dream of a Christian Nagasaki*, 68-69; Takase, "Kirishitan senkyōshi no gunji keikaku (jō)," 305-336; Takase, "Kirishitan senkyōshi no gunji keikaku (chū)," 429-463; Takase, "Kirishitan senkyōshi no gunji keikaku (ge)," 433-466; Takase, "A Igreja Cristã (Kirishitan) no Japão e os Poderes Unificadores Japoneses nos Séculos XVI e XVII – Kirishitan to tōitsu kenryoku (shōzen)," 193; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 330; Takahashi, *Iezusukai no sekai senryaku*, 107-108.

⁴⁰⁷ Fukatsu, "Nihonjin to Kirisutokyō - Kirishitan dendō no baai," 6-7.

⁴⁰⁸ Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, 56. Rotem Kowner suggests that the Portuguese were using a tactic of gradual take over saved for strong communities. This tactic included building commercial ties, establishing evangelical activities, and interfering in local politics, and after securing a strong position invasion. Kowner, *From White to Yellow: The Japanese in European Racial Thought, 1300-1735*, 110-111.

⁴⁰⁹ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 37.

⁴¹⁰ De Lucca, *Jesuits and Fortifications: The Contribution of the Jesuits to Military Architecture in the Baroque Age*, 1-12; O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate?*, 39-40. See also the discussion of Jesuit founder Ignatius Loyola's (1491-1556) life in: Brodrick, *The Origin of the Jesuits*, 1-33.

⁴¹¹ Coelho succeeded Cabral in 1581, and oversaw the mission during Valignano's absence from Japan (1581-1590). Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 140-149.

intervention in Japan.⁴¹² He had furthermore promised to unite the *Kirishitan daimyō* in Kyushu to support Hideyoshi during his invasion in early 1587, and to arrange the loan of two Portuguese ships for the planned invasions of Korea and China.⁴¹³ Following the 1587 *decree*, Coelho sought to unite the *Kirishitan daimyō*, and sent failed requests for soldiers and arms to Manila, Macau and Goa in order to resist Hideyoshi's policy.⁴¹⁴ Hideyoshi did not conceive that the Jesuits were acting as a fifth column,⁴¹⁵ although there was certainly a precedent for this.⁴¹⁶ Rather the Jesuits' actions identified them as a potential internal political threat, which was exacerbated by the fact that they derived their authority from Rome, and therefore fell outside of Hideyoshi's potential control.⁴¹⁷

Hideyoshi's conception of the *Kirishitan* as a political threat is made clearer in his "Notice"⁴¹⁸ promulgated a day prior to the *decree* on the 18th of the 6th month of *Tenshō* 15. This addressed a Japanese audience rather than the Jesuits and Portuguese as the *decree* had done.⁴¹⁹ Whereas the *decree* is reprinted in several sources, the *notice* exists only in one.⁴²⁰ The two principle themes therein are the proscription of forced conversions

⁴¹² Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 114-115.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 112-114.

⁴¹⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 149; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 133-134.

⁴¹⁵ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 132.

⁴¹⁶ Takase, "A Igreja Cristã (Kirishitan) no Japão e os Poderes Unificadores Japoneses nos Séculos XVI e XVII – Kirishitan to tōitsu kenryoku (shōzen)," 192-193.

⁴¹⁷ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 59.

⁴¹⁸ Japanese text in: Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 268. English translation in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 117-118; Elisonas, "Notice," 166-168. Elison's translation is found in edited form in: Andrea and Overfield eds., *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, vol. 2, *Since 1500*, 118-119. Photographs of the handwritten text are included in: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 190-191.

⁴¹⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 117-118.

⁴²⁰ It was found in the *Ise Jingū Bunko* 伊勢神宮文庫 text the *Goshuin Shishoku Kokaku* 御朱印師職古格. Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 267.

‘elaborated into a general assertion of central authority’s control over the actions of feudal subordinates’⁴²¹ and the likening of the *Kirishitan* to the *Ikkō Ikki*.⁴²² The *Ikkō Ikki*, a *Jōdo Shinshū* Buddhist sect who were defeated by Nobunaga after a ten year war ending in 1580, were a prominent *Sengoku* power ruling provinces and competing as an independent faction in the *Sengoku* power struggles.⁴²³ The *notice* states that the *Kirishitan* rely more on supplication to external elements than the *Ikkō Ikki*, and that the forced conversion of retainers by *Kirishitan daimyō* is more undesirable and potentially more harmful than the *Ikkō Ikki* establishment of temple precincts (the control of regions by monks connected to a temple).⁴²⁴ In other words, the *Kirishitan* were more dangerous than the religious rebels of recent memory. The need to bring control over the *Kirishitan daimyō* manifested itself in the refusal of Takayama Ukon 高山右近 (1552-1615CE)⁴²⁵ to apostatize⁴²⁶ on Hideyoshi’s orders, an event that for several contemporaneous writers was understood to be the basis

⁴²¹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 119, 124-132.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 119-124; Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” 361; Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 44, 46-47, 63-64.

⁴²⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 118; Andrea and Overfield eds., *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, vol. 2, 118-119.

⁴²⁵ Biographies include: Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon shiwa*; Ebisawa, *Takayama Ukon*; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 93-100; Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 142-168. A short description of his life is given in: Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 80-81.

⁴²⁶ In Japanese the term apostasy is *Kikyō* 棄教 or *Haikyō* 背教 becoming a verb with the addition of *suru* する (*Kikyō suru* 棄教する or *Haikyō suru* 背教する). During the *Kirishitan* Century and following periods of persecution the terms *korobu* 転ぶ (to fall down) and *korobi* 転び (falling down) were commonly used. The *Kōjien* notes that *korobu* and *korobi* are specific terms referring to the conversion (apostasy) of *Kirishitan*. According to the *Kōjien* the verb *korobu* means ‘a *Kirishitan* converts’ (‘キリシタン信徒が改宗する’), and the noun or adjective *korobi* refers to the conversion of a *Kirishitan* to Buddhism as a result of the anti-*Kirishitan* persecutions (‘江戸時代、キリシタンの信者が弾圧をうけて仏教に改宗したこと’). Shinmura ed., *Kōjien*, 1068. On *Kikyō* and *Haikyō*, see: Shinmura ed., *Kōjien*, 665, 2217.

of Hideyoshi's policy.⁴²⁷ Consequently, Ukon was stripped of his domain and sent into exile, repercussions he did not hesitate to accept.⁴²⁸ According to George Elison all other important *Kirishitan daimyō* had likely apostatized (at least externally), pledging their allegiance to Hideyoshi over their religion shortly before the *decree* was promulgated.⁴²⁹ Although a few continued to covertly follow Christianity and fund the mission,⁴³⁰ their apostasy reflected 'the essential nature of the Christian daimyo: they pursued their own interests first and their religion second.'⁴³¹ Nevertheless, the existence of Christianity in Japan was of little importance to Hideyoshi's ruling; the *notice* restricted the conversion of the wealthy and land owning classes⁴³² who would be required to obtain official permission to do so, and prohibited forced conversion.⁴³³ This illustrates that at the centre of Hideyoshi's action was his desire to extend his power over the *daimyō*. Indeed, the lower classes were of little concern and were therefore permitted to convert.⁴³⁴ Both the theme of asserting authority over the *daimyō* and the analogy drawn between the *Kirishitan* and

⁴²⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 145-146; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 124-126, 131; Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon shiwa*, 210-219.

⁴²⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 146. Cieslik and Ebisawa explore the order of exile and its repercussions for Ukon. Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon shiwa*, 210-385; Ebisawa, *Takayama Ukon*, 123-236.

⁴²⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 124.

⁴³⁰ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 362-363.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁴³² Specifically those who owned above 200 *chō* 町, and/or had an income of 2,000–3,000 *kan* 貫. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 118. *Chō* is a measurement of approximately 9917m² (2.541 acres) of land, whereas one *kan* is a measurement of currency equivalent to 1,000 copper coins. Inoue and Nakamura, *Fukutake kogo jiten*, 355, 675; Tōdō, Matsumoto, Takeda, and Kanō eds., *Kanjigen*, 1055, 1510. A conversion table is included in: Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History*, vol. 2, *The Late Tokugawa Period to Present*, Appendix, 1-2.

⁴³³ Elisonas, "Notice," 166.

⁴³⁴ Item 1 of the *Notice* states that becoming a *Kirishitan* 'shall be the free choice of the person concerned.' Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 117-118.

the *Ikkō Ikki* confirm the policy's grounding in the perceived socio-political threat posed by the Jesuits and their converts.

Despite attempts developed by Valignano to pursue a policy through which the Jesuits sought to 'accommodate themselves to the Japanese way of doing things,'⁴³⁵ Hideyoshi's *decree* and *notice* illustrate the Jesuits' failure or perceived failure to acquiesce to Japanese modes of thought and ways of doing things. A central theme in both the *decree* and *notice* is the concept that the missionaries and their followers forced peasants to become Christian.⁴³⁶ In the *decree* this is directly linked to the destruction of shrines and temples, and the stirring up of the lower classes.⁴³⁷ The *notice* includes two injunctions, originally posed as questions to Coelho shortly before the documents' promulgation;⁴³⁸ a ban on the trade of Japanese humans based on the Portuguese trade of Japanese slaves,⁴³⁹ and a ban on the trade and slaughter of cattle and horses for food.⁴⁴⁰ The Jesuits refrained from using indigenous Japanese slaves, relying on Africans and non-Japanese Asians,⁴⁴¹ and even appear to have opposed the trade of Japanese slaves, however, their deferral to the Portuguese and Japanese authorities to bring this trade to an end damaged Japanese-Jesuit

⁴³⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 54. The policy of accommodation was known as *Accommodatio* (*Tekiō shugi* 適応主義).

⁴³⁶ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 116-118.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴³⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 145-147; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 115.

⁴³⁹ Boxer, "Muitsai in Macao," 222-241; Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, 49-61; Kitahara, *Porutogaru no shokuminchi keisei to Nihonjin dorei*.

⁴⁴⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 118.

⁴⁴¹ Kowner, *From White to Yellow*, 148-150; Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits*, 48.

relations.⁴⁴² The Portuguese trade of Japanese slaves was so widespread that King Sebastian I of Portugal (1554-1578CE) prohibited it in 1571 fearing it hindered the mission, although his ruling doesn't appear to have been enforced.⁴⁴³ In 1605, King Philip III of Spain and Portugal (1578-1621CE) responded to criticisms of both the slave trade and its prohibition, decreeing that the illegal taking of Japanese slaves remained prohibited whilst the trade of those legally obtained was permissible.⁴⁴⁴ African and Asian slaves were an important resource that allowed the Jesuits to reduce their financial liabilities and constraints on their low numbers of personnel. Despite the secular rulings and Jesuit Superior General (L. *Praepositus Generalis*), Francis Borgia's (1510-1572CE), 1569 decree demanding that the Jesuits free all slaves kept by the Society,⁴⁴⁵ the Japanese perceived the Jesuits to be involved in the trade of not only foreign, but native slaves. According to the contemporaneous Japanese source, the *Kyūshū godōzaiki* 九州御動座記:

they bought up several hundred Japanese (man or woman regardless) for the Black Ships, where they were taken with iron shackles on arms and legs, and thrust down into the bottom hold, with tortures exceeding those of hell.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 106-111. In 1590, Valignano argued that the Portuguese bore no guilt for the slave trade; rather it was the Japanese who forced their countrymen onto the traders with low prices and solicitations. Elisonas, "Notice," 166-167.

⁴⁴³ Nelson, "Slavery in Medieval Japan," 463.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 464.

⁴⁴⁵ Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits*, 47-48.

⁴⁴⁶ Quoted in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 125.

Valignano banned cattle slaughter and placed restrictions upon their consumption in 1583, however, it appears that this ruling was ignored by his successors.⁴⁴⁷ The *notice's* final two injunctions, therefore, appear to reflect the possibility that although the Jesuits successfully adopted some of the outward manifestations of Japanese customs and modes of thought, such as etiquette,⁴⁴⁸ the use of Japanese style architectural styles, and some dietary requirements,⁴⁴⁹ they failed on a fundamental level to acquiesce to Japanese patterns of behaviour and understanding. Moreover, whilst the Jesuits sought and perhaps failed to adequately change their behavioural patterns, they demanded that their converts undergo a complete change in attitude both religiously and secularly.⁴⁵⁰ Simultaneously, they conducted theological (and personal) attacks on the Japanese religions and their adherents which they judged as heathen and pagan,⁴⁵¹ and demanded the *Kirishitan*

⁴⁴⁷ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 59-60; Matsuo, "Bunken ni miru Edo Jidai no gyūnikushoku ni tsuite," 301-306.

⁴⁴⁸ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 134-135.

⁴⁴⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 58-60.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. 61.

⁴⁵¹ Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 1; Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible*, 18; Yamato, "Kirishitan jidai saishoki ni okeru Kirisutokyō to Bukkyō no kōshō," 121-139. One example is Cabral's May 31st, 1575 letter which attacks Buddhist priests (referred to by the Jesuits as *bonzes*, *bonzos* or *bonzas*) for their obstinacy, their misleading of the people, and their greed. Cabral, "Copie d'une lettre escripte du P. François Gabriel Superieur de la Compagnie du nom de Jesus au Jappon," 6. In his first letter from Japan, dated November 11th, 1549, Xavier similarly attacks the bonzes and nuns, noting their lust, promiscuity, lax rules, and use of abortion medication. Later in a Letter to the Society in Europe (January 29th, 1552), Xavier describes the *bonzes* as the Jesuits' greatest enemies. Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 238-240, 339. Anti-Buddhist material was not limited to inter-Jesuit correspondence, the Jesuits also composed Japanese language anti-Buddhist treatises. A pertinent example is the first part of *Myōtei mondō* 妙貞問答 (1605) known as *Buppō no shidai ryaku nukigaki* 仏法之次第略拔書. The text is reprinted in: Ebisawa, *Buppō no shidai ryaku nukigaki*, 103-112. An English summary of its contents are given in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 442-443. See also: Baskind, " 'The Matter of the Zen School' Fukansai Habian's *Myōtei mondō* and His Christian Polemic on Buddhism," 307-331.

daimyō dismantle these institutions in their domains. The Jesuits were thereby brought into conflict with the Japanese religious and political systems. A situation that contributed to Hideyoshi's ruling. Accordingly, the *decree's* fifth and final item states:

From now on all those who do not disturb Buddhism...may freely travel from the Kirishitan Country and return.⁴⁵²

Despite all this, the Jesuits' ability or inability to acquiesce to Japanese manners and customs does not appear to be a prime factor in the *decree's* genesis. The immediate cause of the *decree's* promulgation appears to be the potential, internal political threat posed by Christianity and the desire to control the *daimyō*; however, it must also be understood as the result of wider trends. Nobunaga had 'established a pattern of aggressive national rule';⁴⁵³ many of his policies and the organizational pattern to which he adhered set the precedent for the policies of his successors.⁴⁵⁴ As Elison notes, the Jesuits were unable to accommodate to these organizational and political changes.⁴⁵⁵ Moreover, Nobunaga's campaign against the *Ikkō Ikki*, marked the beginning of a religious policy which sought to 'eliminate the threat which organized religion's competing cadres of loyalty posed to the

⁴⁵² Quoted in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 116.

⁴⁵³ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 67.

⁴⁵⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 83; Elison, "The Cross and the Sword: Patterns of Momoyama History," 68-69.

⁴⁵⁵ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 83

regime⁴⁵⁶ foreshadowing Hideyoshi and Ieyasu's anti-*Kirishitan* legislation.⁴⁵⁷ Hideyoshi's *decree* was formulated within the context of his own religious policy, through which the activities of temples were restricted and their independence forfeited.⁴⁵⁸ On the other hand, whilst the *decree* appears to be mostly concerned with internal affairs, it can also be viewed alongside Hideyoshi's moves to centralize the management of foreign trade and ban piracy.⁴⁵⁹ In exercising control over Christianity, he ensured that the missionaries' power to influence trade was weakened and the government's influence increased. Finally, the *decree* can be understood in the context of pre-existent anti-Jesuit sentiment, which had existed since the mission's genesis due to their clashes with Buddhists, and is encapsulated in the *decree's* disdain at the *Kirishitan* led destruction of temples and shrines.⁴⁶⁰

Elizabeth Berry and Andrew Ross claim that Hideyoshi's policy sought not to end Christianity, but acted as a warning and an attempt to address potential issues.⁴⁶¹ Contrary to this, that Hideyoshi confiscated Jesuit property, closed Churches, took over the administrative control of Nagasaki, Mogi and Urakami (against which fines were levied), and ordered in a further decree the removal of Christian symbols from the armour and equipment of Samurai,⁴⁶² suggests his policy was intended to have wider effects than those

⁴⁵⁶ Elison, "The Cross and the Sword: Patterns of Momoyama History," 69.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 70-72.

⁴⁵⁸ McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 238-241.

⁴⁵⁹ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 133-135.

⁴⁶⁰ Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, 144; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 35-36, 116; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 309-310.

⁴⁶¹ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 226; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742*, 76.

⁴⁶² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650*, 149.

ascribed to it by Berry and Ross. Valignano's letter sent from Macau on November 6th, 1588 to Philip I of Portugal (1527-1598CE) also attests to the large material losses inflicted upon the Church through Hideyoshi's legislation.⁴⁶³ However, since he was seeking material assistance for the mission his claims may have been exaggerated. Hideyoshi did not rescind the *decree*⁴⁶⁴ and Valignano continued to fear an intensification of persecution⁴⁶⁵ pointing to its potential continuing relevance and validity as law. A letter⁴⁶⁶ presented to Valignano in 1591 in his capacity as the Viceroy of India's ambassador, and drafted for Hideyoshi by Buddhist priest, Saishō Jōtai 西笑承兌 (1548-1607CE),⁴⁶⁷ condemned Christianity through a comparison of the universality and plurality of East Asian concepts of the divine found in the Three Teachings (Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism) with the particularity of European concepts.⁴⁶⁸ The letter threatened the expulsion of the *Bateren* 伴天連⁴⁶⁹ (Jesuits) should they seek to proselytize.⁴⁷⁰ It is clear, therefore, that the policy was not a mere inconsequential blip in Hideyoshi's career. The failure to forcibly exile the missionaries

⁴⁶³ Valignano, "Fr. A. Valignano S. J., Visitor, to Philip I, King of Portugal, Macao, November 6, 1588," 836.

⁴⁶⁴ Timon Screech notes that Bishop of Funai (1592-1598), Pedro Martins's (1542-1598), claim that Hideyoshi had apologized for his decrees in a personal conversation. Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 7.

⁴⁶⁵ Valignano, "Fr. A. Valignano S. J., Visitor, to Fr. Cl. Acquaviva S. J., General, Nagasaki, February 15, 1592," 773.

⁴⁶⁶ Japanese version in: Kuwata, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū*, 253-255. English translation in: Elisonas, "Letter to the Viceroy of India," 168-171.

⁴⁶⁷ Sometimes rendered Seishō Shōtai.

⁴⁶⁸ Elisonas, "Letter to the Viceroy of India," 169-170.

⁴⁶⁹ Also written バテレン.

⁴⁷⁰ Elisonas, "Letter to the Viceroy of India," 171.

as outlined in the *decree*,⁴⁷¹ continued Jesuit power in Nagasaki,⁴⁷² and occasional Toyotomi support for the missionaries,⁴⁷³ point to Hideyoshi's pragmatism and the fact that he had other more pressing focuses; Japan's unification, war with Korea and his succession.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, it was not possible for the Jesuits to enter exile in accordance with the *decree* as no ship was due to leave Japan within twenty days of its ratification.⁴⁷⁵ Once a ship was ready for this purpose, Coelho persuaded Hideyoshi that the ship was unable to take so many passengers.⁴⁷⁶ Fears that persecuting the missionaries would invite military action against Japan may have also contributed to the lax enforcement of the *decree*.⁴⁷⁷ In any case, whilst the legislation appears to have had short-term negative material consequences on the Church, the 1591 Annual Letter of the Province of India claims that some 21,000 converts were made in Japan between October 1589 and October 1590,⁴⁷⁸ suggesting that the legislation had little influence on conversion.

In 1596, a Spanish ship, the *San Felipe*, wrecked off the coast of Shikoku 四国.⁴⁷⁹ Hideyoshi's agent Mashita Nagamori 増田長盛 (1545-1615CE)⁴⁸⁰ and Tosa 土佐 *daimyō*

⁴⁷¹ The only to leave were three *iruman* 伊留満/入満 (P. *irmãos* - Jesuit brothers) who were sent to Macau for ordination, however they later returned. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 133.

⁴⁷² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 149, 151.

⁴⁷³ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 92-93.

⁴⁷⁴ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 59; Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 226-227; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 365.

⁴⁷⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 148; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 133.

⁴⁷⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 148; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 133.

⁴⁷⁷ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 81.

⁴⁷⁸ Martins, "Annual Letter of the Province of India by Fr. Pedro Martins S. J., Provincial, Goa, November 30, 1591," 711.

⁴⁷⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 136.

⁴⁸⁰ Including his title: Mashita Uemon no Jō Nagamori 増田右衛門尉長盛.

Chōsokabe Motochika 長宗我部元親 (1539-1599CE) issued orders for the cargo to be confiscated.⁴⁸¹ The chain of events which followed are marked by a series of Jesuit-Franciscans 'aspersions, counter-claims and philippics'⁴⁸² which have transmogrified historical reality so that at times the events cannot be clearly reconstructed beyond speculation.⁴⁸³ Jesuit accounts claimed that the ship's pilot, Francisco de Olandía, had in anger boasted to Mashita about Spanish conquest and colonization, and the dispatch of missionaries as forerunners to invasion, which was subsequently reported to Hideyoshi.⁴⁸⁴ The Franciscans and Spaniards argued that the Portuguese and Jesuits disseminated such rumours to Mashita prior to his interview of the pilot.⁴⁸⁵ Elison believes that the Franciscan account is more likely to be true, but notes that this cannot be established with certainty.⁴⁸⁶ Other scholars have favoured the Portuguese-Jesuit account; Timon Screech for instance argues that the building of an extravagant Franciscan Church in Kyoto was part of the provocation for Hideyoshi's response,⁴⁸⁷ whereas Boxer argues that the Franciscans exacerbated the situation by conducting themselves as if the 1587 *decree* did not exist.⁴⁸⁸ One thing is clear, as a result Hideyoshi crucified twenty-six men, now known as the "Twenty-six Martyrs of Japan" (*Nihon Nijūroku Seijin* 日本二十六聖人), on the 19th of the

⁴⁸¹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 136.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 60. Some lengthy quotations of primary sources are given in: Okada, *Kirishitan • Bateria*, 105-114.

⁴⁸⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 138.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 138-139.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 139.

⁴⁸⁷ Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 7.

⁴⁸⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 162.

12th month of *Keichō* 慶長 1 (1597) in Nagasaki, amongst whom were 6 Franciscans, 3 Jesuits and 17 lay converts.⁴⁸⁹ This marked the temporary end of Franciscan presence in Japan,⁴⁹⁰ but did not result in wide scale anti-*Kirishitan* persecution due to Hideyoshi's preoccupation with ongoing war in Korea and his succession.⁴⁹¹ Nevertheless, it was the first persecution ordered by the centralized government to be marked by the spilling of *Kirishitan* and missionary blood.⁴⁹² It led to the humbling of the Jesuits;⁴⁹³ 25 fled the country, and 120 churches were destroyed.⁴⁹⁴ The event marked the end of the first half of the *Kirishitan* Century with a shift in context that changed the nature of the mission. Elison writes:

[Japanese Christianity's] problem after 1597 [was] no longer that of acceptance but of survival.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁸⁹ Yamamoto, *Nijūroku Seijin junkyō shiwa*; Matsuda, "Nihon Nijūroku Seijin no jinmei ni tsuite," 3-39; Kataoka, "Saigo no michi," 87-105; Uyttenbroeck and Schneider, *The Twenty-Six Martyrs of Japan: Historical Background Authentic Biographical Stories*; Nihon 26 Seijin Junkyō 400 Nensai in Kyōto Kinenshi Henshū linkai ed., *Michi ga Kyōto kara: Nihon 26 seijin junkyō 400 nensai in Kyōto*. Refer also to the contemporaneous record of Louis Fróis: Fróis, *Relazione dela gloriosa morte di XXVI. Posti in croce per comandamenta del Re di Giappone, alli 5. di Febraio 1597. de quali sei forno Religiosi di San Francesco, tre della Compagnia di Giesù, et dicesette Christiani Giapponesi*.

⁴⁹⁰ Tsuzukibashi, *Nihon Furanshisukokaishi nenpyō*, 18-19.

⁴⁹¹ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 226-227; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 365.

⁴⁹² Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 365. Persecution on a local scale had existed since the mission's inception. Xavier's Letter to the Society at Goa (July 1551) and Letter to the Society in Europe (January 29th, 1552) for instance note that the *bonzes* in Kagoshima had persuaded the local *daimyō*, Shimazu Takahisa 島津貴久 (1514-1571CE), to forbid conversion to Christianity under the punishment of death during the first year of the mission. This was also influenced by the arrival of Portuguese traders in Hirado rather than Kagoshima. Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 295-296, 335; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 33-34.

⁴⁹³ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 227.

⁴⁹⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 170.

⁴⁹⁵ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 140.

The Tokugawa

Following Hideyoshi's death in 1598, the Franciscans returned to Japan,⁴⁹⁶ and anti-*Kirishitan* persecution continued sporadically. For example, between 1603 and 1609, *Kirishitan* fled Higo where Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 (1561-1611CE) persecuted several *Kirishitan* retainers following their refusal to apostatize.⁴⁹⁷ Under Kiyomasa, the *Kirishitan* population in his domain dropped from 80,000 to 20,000.⁴⁹⁸ Similarly, in 1609 three *Kirishitan* were put to death on the island of Ikitsuki 生月 as a warning and example to the communities there.⁴⁹⁹ Whilst localized anti-*Kirishitan* persecution was permitted under the rule of Tokugawa Ieyasu following his seizure and consolidation of power,⁵⁰⁰ like his predecessors he initially showed favour to the Jesuits,⁵⁰¹ and even permitted the Dominicans and Augustinians to enter the mission field.⁵⁰² He also gave the influential Jesuit João Rodrigues a level of authority over the governance of Nagasaki,⁵⁰³ although

⁴⁹⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 170-171.

⁴⁹⁷ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 212-226.

⁴⁹⁸ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 412, n. 59.

⁴⁹⁹ They were Gaspar Nishi ガスパル西 and his family. Turnbull, "The Veneration of the Martyrs of Ikitsuki (1609-1545) by the Japanese Hidden Christians," 301; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 32-34; Matsumoto, *Ikitsuki no Kirishitan*, 3; Cieslik, "Junkyoōsha ichizoku • Ikitsuki no Nishika," 124-127; Nihon Katorikku Shikyō Kyōgikai - Ressei Reppuku Tokubetsu linkai ed., *Petoro Kibe to 187 Junkyōsha*, 18-20.

⁵⁰⁰ For an account of Ieyasu's rise to power, see: Sadler, *Shogun*; Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan*; Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun*; Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu: 1600-1843*, 8-31.

⁵⁰¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 179-183.

⁵⁰² Hesselink, *The Dream of a Christian Nagasaki*, 16.

⁵⁰³ Elisonas, "Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City," 85.

Rodrigues's position and the incorporation of Ōmura lands into the city in 1605 led to the aforementioned breakdown in relations between the Jesuits and Ōmura Yoshiaki.⁵⁰⁴

The “resurgence” and strengthening of anti-*Kirishitan* policy under the retired Ieyasu and his successor, Hidetada 秀忠 (1579-1632CE),⁵⁰⁵ who ruled from 1605-1623,⁵⁰⁶ followed a governmental scandal. *Kirishitan daimyō* Arima Harunobu 有馬晴信 (1567-1612CE)⁵⁰⁷ bribed Okamoto Daihachi 岡本大八, a senior *Kirishitan* in the service of one of Ieyasu's councillors, in hopes of acquiring additional lands.⁵⁰⁸ To accomplish this Okamoto provided Harunobu with forged documents.⁵⁰⁹ In 1612, the conspiracy was exposed, and Okamoto was executed, but not before he could accuse Harunobu of conspiracy to murder the Nagasaki *bugyō* 長崎奉行 (administrator of Nagasaki).⁵¹⁰ Harunobu forfeited his fief and was executed. His son, Naozumi 直純 (1586-1641CE),⁵¹¹ apostatized and was given charge of his father's domain in Hizen and the ensuing anti-*Kirishitan* persecutions there.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 186; Cieslik, “Early Missionaries in Japan 7, Father Joao Rodriguez (1561-1632): ‘The Interpreter,’” 10.

⁵⁰⁵ Biographies include: Kawai, *Nidai Shōgun Tokugawa Hidetada: nintai suru bonjin no seikō tetsugaku*; Tobe, *Tokugawa Hidetada*, 2 vols; Fukuda, *Tokugawa Hidetada: Gō ga sasaeta nidaime Shōgun*; Ōwada, *Tokugawa Hidetada: “bonyō na nidaime” no kōseki*.

⁵⁰⁶ Ieyasu retained much of his power in his role as *Ōgoshō* 大御所 (retired Shogun). Frédéric, “Tokugawa Hidetada,” 976.

⁵⁰⁷ For biographical details, see: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 58-70; Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 59-66, 94-97.

⁵⁰⁸ Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” 366.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ For biographical details, see: Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyō*, 66-72, 105-110.

⁵¹² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 314-315, 328-330; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 307; Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” 366-377. On the early persecutions in Arima, see: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 187-194; Kanda, *Shimabara no ran*, 90-93. Nihon Katorikku Shikyō Kyōgikai - Ressei Reppuku Tokubetsu linkai ed., *Petoro Kibe to 187 Junkyōsha*, 21-23.

With Harunobu's execution and Naozumi's apostasy, there were no prominent *Kirishitan daimyō* left in Japan.⁵¹³ During the fallout Ieyasu issued an *injunction*⁵¹⁴ banning Christianity, however, it was not enforced vigorously⁵¹⁵ and failed to specify the punishment for practice.⁵¹⁶ The *injunction* also prohibited certain practices imported by the Portuguese including smoking, and like Hideyoshi's 1587 *decree* placed restrictions on animal slaughter.⁵¹⁷ The *Kirishitan* in Ieyasu's service were made to apostatize or were exiled.⁵¹⁸ The Franciscan Churches in Kansai and Kanto (*Kantō* 関東) were closed, but the Jesuit institutions were spared due to the intercession of *daimyō* and *Kyōto Shoshidai* 京都所司代 (governor of Kyoto), Itakura Katsushige 板倉勝重 (1545-1624CE).⁵¹⁹

The Okamoto incident was not the sole impetus behind the "resumption" of persecution by the central government. The Jesuits were no longer the only group able to act as intermediaries in Portuguese-Japanese trade; merchants had taken Japanese wives and learnt Japanese, and a number of Japanese had acquired Portuguese skills.⁵²⁰ The importance of Portuguese trade had also declined.⁵²¹ The Dutch had arrived in 1600,

⁵¹³ Boxer, "The Affair of the 'Madre de Deus' (A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan)," 50, n. 1.

⁵¹⁴ Japanese text reprinted in: Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 307. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 187. Shimizu Hirokazu notes that according to the *Tōshōgū Gojikki* 東照宮御実記 (1843) anti-*Kirishitan* legislation began in 1611, however no other sources refer to this, and it is generally agreed that Ieyasu's first piece of anti-*Kirishitan* legislation was the 1612 injunction. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 97-98.

⁵¹⁵ Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 8.

⁵¹⁶ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 307.

⁵¹⁷ Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 8.

⁵¹⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 315; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 307; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 185.

⁵¹⁹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 317.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

although voyages were uncommon until their establishment of the Hirado 平戸 trading post in 1609.⁵²² The ship that brought the Dutch in 1600 was piloted by an Englishman, William Adams (1564-1620),⁵²³ who was instrumental in establishing Anglo-Japanese Trade through the creation of the English East India Company trading station at Hirado in 1613.⁵²⁴ In 1609, two Spanish ships travelling from the Philippines to Mexico were forced to stop in Japan.⁵²⁵ This resulted in the reestablishment of trade between the Spanish Philippines and Japan.⁵²⁶ The Japanese had also expanded their overseas trade efforts, through which tensions with the Portuguese emerged. In 1608, a junk dispatched to Champa (*Chanpakoku* 占城国 /*Chanpa Ōkoku* チャンパ王国) stopped at Macau in order to avoid the monsoon season.⁵²⁷ However, numerous brawls, disputes and skirmishes with the residents led the Captain-Major of Macau, André Pessoa, and his forces to besiege the residences of the crew and the Japanese residents who supported them, imprisoning those who surrendered, and killing those who refused.⁵²⁸ Pessoa travelled to Japan the following year aboard the *Madre de*

⁵²² Boxer, "The Affair of the 'Madre de Deus' (A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan)," 6-7, 39-42; Matsūra Shiryō Hakubutsukan ed., *Shito Hirado - nenhyō to shidan* -, 94-97; Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853*, 9-10; Nagazumi "Orandajin ga mita Nihon" 338-355. On Dutch expansion in Asia prior to their arrival in Japan, see: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 36-38.

⁵²³ Biographies include: Corr, *Adams the Pilot: The Life and Times of Captain William Adams: 1564-1620*; Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, 2 vols.

⁵²⁴ Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 4; Matsūra Shiryō Hakubutsukan ed., *Shito Hirado*, 97-98; Hiradoshi Shihensan linkai ed., *Daikōkaijidai no bōkenshatachi*, 89-130. On the establishment of the trading post, see: Saris, "The Voyage of Captaine Saris in the Cloave, to the Ile of Japan," 379.

⁵²⁵ Boxer, "The Affair of the 'Madre de Deus' (A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan)," 48.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 38; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 174-175.

Deus (also known as the *Nossa Senhora da Graça*).⁵²⁹ Arima Harunobu requested permission to seize the ship as revenge for the insult in Macau, however, Ieyasu did not permit the attack until he was confirmed in the knowledge that the Dutch and Spanish could supply Japan, should Portuguese trade cease as a result.⁵³⁰ Harunobu and his forces sank the fleeing *Madre de Deus* on the 12th of the 12th month of *Keichō* 14 (1610), killing the Captain-Major in the process.⁵³¹ Following the event João Rodrigues was exiled to Macau.⁵³² Trade relations were restored after a Macanese embassy in 1611, partially due to Ieyasu's realization that the Dutch and Spanish couldn't fulfil Japan's trade needs.⁵³³ Boxer believes that the event's repercussions ended with this resumption of trade,⁵³⁴ however, Ieyasu's ability to act against the Portuguese without severe repercussions, doubtlessly influenced his decision to issue the *injunction* following the Okamoto incident in 1612. In 1611 and 1612, tensions with the Spanish also emerged following the arrival of Spanish navigator, Sebastián Vizcaíno (1548-1624CE), who came to survey the Japanese coast.⁵³⁵ Adams warned that this was likely a reconnaissance mission for a future Spanish invasion.⁵³⁶ The

⁵²⁹ Boxer, "The Affair of the 'Madre de Deus' (A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan)," 41.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 49-53. Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix's account found in his *Histoire du Japon* (1754) is included as an appendix to Boxer's paper, see pages: 66-74.

⁵³² Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 178-180

⁵³³ Boxer, "The Affair of the 'Madre de Deus' (A Chapter in the History of the Portuguese in Japan)," 55-59.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 61. Letters from Japanese and Portuguese sources leading up to this resumption in trade are translated in: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 428-434.

⁵³⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 312.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

situation was aggravated by Vizcaíno's refusal to conform to Japanese etiquette, and his petitions for the free entry of the Franciscans and the expulsion of the Dutch.⁵³⁷

By 1613, Adams (already a close confidant of Ieyasu) had filled the place left by Rodrigues at court, helping to foster anti-Catholic opinions and fears of a potential Christian fifth column.⁵³⁸ Meanwhile, *Kirishitan* scandals continued to rock the government. After the death of bureaucrat and *daimyō*, Ōkubo Nagayasu 大久保長安, in 1613, it came to light that in his role overseeing gold and silver production he had falsified the accounts to procure personal profit.⁵³⁹ Furthermore, he was accused of plotting with missionaries to dispatch a force to aid *Kirishitan* against the *bakufu*.⁵⁴⁰ Consequently, his sons were executed or ordered to commit suicide, and a number of his relatives and associates implicated in the crime were punished by extension.⁵⁴¹ In the same year, a *Kirishitan* called Jirobee 次郎兵衛⁵⁴² was caught illegally purchasing silver and was crucified for the crime.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 313.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 308-310, 312-313; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 62; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 196-197. Anti-Catholic sentiment amongst the English was mirrored by anti-Protestant sentiment amongst the missionaries. Richard Cocks (1566-1624), the head of the British East India Company in Hirado, for instance notes the spread of anti-English sentiment amongst *Kirishitan* converts by the missionaries. Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*, vol. 1, 139-140.

⁵³⁹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 315-316.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 316.

⁵⁴¹ Guilt by association was based on the principals of *enza* 縁座 (extending complicity to family members) and *renza* 連座 (extending complicity to a larger social group i.e. a village). Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 1615-1867, 12-13; Henderson, "The Evolution of Tokugawa Law," 223; Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan*, 102.

⁵⁴² Sometimes romanised Jirobioye.

⁵⁴³ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 198; Murdoch with Yamagata, *A History of Japan*, vol. 2, 501, n. 25.

Nagasaki *bugyō*, Hasegawa Fujihiro 長谷川藤弘,⁵⁴⁴ petitioned the *bakufu* noting the dangers of Christianity with reference to the Okamoto and Jirobee incidents.⁵⁴⁵ The petition alongside mass *Kirishitan* demonstrations during the persecutions in Arima seems ‘to have disposed of any hesitations which Ieyasu may still have felt.’⁵⁴⁶

On the 19th day of the 12th month of *Keichō* 18 (1614), Ieyasu began preparing a new law to expel the *bateren*. He summoned Konchiin Sūden 金地院崇伝,⁵⁴⁷ who drafted important *bakufu* documents, to Edo 江戸, and asked him to prepare the text, approving it the next day and forwarding it to Hidetada for his seal.⁵⁴⁸ The result was the *Bateren tsuihō no fumi* 伴天連追放之文 also called the *Hai Kirishitan bun* 排吉利支丹文.⁵⁴⁹ It stated:

[The *Kirishitan*] recklessly desire to spread a pernicious doctrine, confound true religion, change the governmental authority of this realm, and make it their own possession...the Bateren, contravene the aforesaid governmental regimen, traduce the Way of the Gods, calumniate the True Law, derange righteous and debase

⁵⁴⁴ Also known by his title Sahyōe 左兵衛.

⁵⁴⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 316-317.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 317; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed, 1542-1742*, 94.

⁵⁴⁷ Also known as Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝.

⁵⁴⁸ Screech, “The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period,” 8.

⁵⁴⁹ Japanese text in: Ikoku Nikki Kankōkai ed., *Ikoku nikki: Konchiin Sūden gaikō monjō shūsei: Eiinbon*, 33-34; Ebisawa ed., “Hai Kirishitan bun,” 419-421; Ebisawa, Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., *Kirishitan sho: Haiya sho*, 451-452. English translation in: Elisonas, “Statement on the Expulsion of the Bateren,” 171-174. Screech notes that the circulation of legal documents was uncommon, unlike traditional legal documents it was written in the discursive language of *kanbun* 漢文, and was accompanied by a framework of enforcement. As such Screech argues that the *edict* offered a new statement of thinking, a manifesto. Screech, “The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period,” 9.

goodness...If they are not banned immediately, the state will be sure to suffer grief in the future. Indeed, unless they are checked, those in charge of enforcing the ordinances shall themselves become the targets of the punishment of Heaven. So purge Japan of them! Expel them quickly without giving them an inch of land to grasp, a foot of ground to stand on! And if any dare to resist these orders, they shall be executed.⁵⁵⁰

Reflecting its authorship the majority of the text concerns Shinto, Confucianism and Buddhism,⁵⁵¹ and provides a theological justification for banning Christianity, making it the enemy of both the state, and according to the text's rhetoric, the mutually coexistent and fundamentally unified Japanese religions (*Sankyō ichiron* 三教一致).⁵⁵² According to Screech, the text's theological concerns illustrate one of its prime functions, not the ban of Christianity, but the provision of 'a theorization of the sacred life of the state'⁵⁵³ with which Christianity was incompatible. This theological theorization of nation (*shinkoku shisō* 神国思想) was grounded in political concerns. It allowed the Tokugawa to:

⁵⁵⁰ Elisonas, "Statement on the Expulsion of the Bateren," 173-174.

⁵⁵¹ Elisonas argues that the *edict* resembles the argument produced for Hideyoshi by Saishō Jōtai in his "Letter to the Viceroy of India" however whilst similarities exist (Jōtai and Sūden were contemporaries of the same school), the concepts present in the *edict* had undergone a great deal of development. Elisonas, "Statement on the Expulsion of the Bateren," 172; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 253-256.

⁵⁵² Guillaume, "Misdirected Understandings: Narrative Matrices in the Japanese Politics of Alterity Toward the West," 99. On the use of *sankyō ichiron* in the text, see: Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 253-256; Hazama, "Nihon oyobi Chūgoku ni okeru Iezusukai no fukyō hōsaku: Varinyāno no 'Tekiō Shugi' o megutte," 63-65.

⁵⁵³ Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 9.

develop a more complete sense of belonging to a special, orderly, harmonious place, unified under one ruler...[and] provided grounds on which a conception of a centralized bureaucratic state...became possible, through the development of a sense of within and without.⁵⁵⁴

Shinkoku shisō contrasted Japan's relations with East Asia which were acceptable, and her relations with Europe which were best controlled.⁵⁵⁵ It served as a framework through which the Other, and therefore Christianity could be understood.⁵⁵⁶ In affirming Japan's distinctiveness, it illustrated the need to defend this distinctiveness against Christianity.⁵⁵⁷ *Shinkoku shisō* affirmed that lord-vassal relationships were divine because the oaths of fealty were sworn before the gods and Buddhas.⁵⁵⁸ Foreign deities could not be allowed to interfere in this divine covenant.⁵⁵⁹ The development of such a concept allowed the Tokugawa to achieve:

⁵⁵⁴ Guillaume, "Misdirected Understandings: Narrative Matrices in the Japanese Politics of Alterity Toward the West," 95-96.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 96.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 96-97.

⁵⁵⁷ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System*, 41, 43-47.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 41-42.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 42.

a tightly knit, hierarchical social-religious-political organism, a form of “immanent theocracy” supported by subservient ecclesiastical institutions.⁵⁶⁰

Shinkoku shisō placed Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism at the centre of Japanese life, but the *edict* which functioned as a more general means to centralize the control of religion, marked only the genesis of its development. The *edict* captures a moment in the early development of the Tokugawa’s use of *shinkoku shisō*, however, the creation of a “national theology” is a later phenomenon that drew upon multiple factors including Ieyasu’s instatement as a *kami* 神.⁵⁶¹ The *edict* should be understood as part of a wider policy developed by Ieyasu that sought to create a system by which religious, philosophical and ethical systems upheld and cooperated with the ‘objective of establishing a hierarchically controlled social political organism’⁵⁶² whereas systems which did not, needed to be purged.

Whilst the *edict* was spurred by a series of scandals and functioned to control religion through the ban of Christianity, it was motivated primarily by political concerns. The *Kirishitan* scandals and growing tensions between Japan and the Iberian nations illustrated to the *bakufu* that the *bateren* provided an alternative locus of power, which led their followers to subvert central authority. This realization was fanned by Dutch and English

⁵⁶⁰ Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, 77.

⁵⁶¹ Williams, “Religion in Early Modern Japan,” 187; Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority*, 107-140; Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 243-245; Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, 113-114; Boot, “The death of a shogun: deification in early modern Japan,” 144–166; Breen and Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto*, 52-65.

⁵⁶² Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, 77.

warnings of the Iberian threat, as well as the Spanish and Portuguese attempts to implicate each other in such conspiracies.⁵⁶³ Unlike previous policy the *edict* functioned effectively, leading to the Jesuits' expulsion, the proscription of Christianity and its promulgation, and the persecution and martyrdom of those who refused to comply.⁵⁶⁴ Like Hideyoshi's policy, the *edict* functioned as an internal policy attempting to bring control over a potentially uncontrollable element of Japanese society, however, under Hidetada and Iemitsu 家光 (1604-1651CE)⁵⁶⁵ it developed as foreign policy also. Like their immediate predecessors, the power of the Tokugawa was based on the tradition of warrior chieftains, which dictated that rivals be destroyed until they could effectively control affairs and secure family interests.⁵⁶⁶

The *edict* was circulated in Kansai's major cities in early 1614.⁵⁶⁷ Kansai's churches were destroyed and the resident Jesuits and Franciscans (31 in total) were sent to Nagasaki.⁵⁶⁸ Most *Kirishitan* in the area chose to apostatize.⁵⁶⁹ The Jesuits, who were required to provide a register of all staff in Kansai, provided a false account in order that some might remain to covertly assist *Kirishitan* there.⁵⁷⁰ Apostates (*korobi Kirishitan* 転び

⁵⁶³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 310-312.

⁵⁶⁴ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 61-66; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 317.

⁵⁶⁵ Biographies include: Fujii, *Tokugawa Iemitsu*; Yamaoka, *Tokugawa Iemitsu*, 4 vols.

⁵⁶⁶ Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 236.

⁵⁶⁷ Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," 9.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 319-320.

キリシタン)⁵⁷¹ were forced to produce certificates of temple registration (*korobi Kirishitan terauke shōmon* 転吉利支丹寺請証文) as evidence of their conversion to Buddhism.⁵⁷² The missionary personnel, both European and Japanese, were gathered in Nagasaki alongside leading *Kirishitan* including Takayama Ukon, who had also received their extradition orders.⁵⁷³ Prior to disembarking, the missionaries moved and reburied the dead, and removed religious items from their institutions, which were repossessed by Japanese officials in late 1614.⁵⁷⁴ Despite this, the authorities destroyed known *Kirishitan* gravesites and confiscated religious items and artefacts.⁵⁷⁵ Most missionary personnel were exiled, those who managed to remain hidden in Japan numbered 47, including 27 Jesuits,⁵⁷⁶ 7 Franciscans, 7 Dominicans, 1 Augustinian, and 5 secular clergy, almost 30% of their previous number.⁵⁷⁷ Approximately 200⁵⁷⁸ native lay catechists (*dōjuku* 同宿)⁵⁷⁹ were able to remain

⁵⁷¹ This term referred to ordinary believers who had apostatized. The terms *korobi bateren* 転びバテレン and *korobi iruman* 転びイルマン referred to apostate priests and brothers respectively. Shinmura ed., *Kōjien*, 1068.

⁵⁷² Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 16.

⁵⁷³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 320.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 327. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 203-211.

⁵⁷⁵ Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 16-17.

⁵⁷⁶ 18 were priests and 9 were *iruman*. Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39.

⁵⁷⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 322, 327. Miyazaki's numbers differ, he notes that 26 Jesuits, 6 Franciscans, 7 Dominicans, and 1 Augustinian remained in Japan. Over 350 were exiled including prominent *Kirishitan* and their families. Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 12.

⁵⁷⁸ Boxer states more than 100 remained behind, but also notes that figures are not given in any sources. The calculation here is based on the number of lay catechists in 1612 (250) and the numbers who were exiled in 1614, 15 to Manila and 50 to Macau. The figure is problematic, as the number of lay catechists would have changed between 1612 and 1614. There would be increases through recruitment, but also decreases through the pre-1614 persecutions. For instance, whilst there were 59 lay catechists in Arima in 1612, this number could have decreased through the persecutions there. Ross therefore argues that the numbers of native missionary personnel who remained are unknown. For figures see: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 322, 327-328; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 96.

⁵⁷⁹ The term and the position were modelled on Buddhist positions such as *jiisha* 侍者 and the young helpers of Buddhist clergy. Nosco, "Secrecy and Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the

due to their ability to conceal themselves amongst the native population.⁵⁸⁰ Moreover, the proscription meant that the remnant missionary personnel were unable to travel or preach openly.⁵⁸¹ Some exiled *Kirishitan* and those fleeing later persecutions joined expatriate Japanese communities in South East Asia causing alarm amongst officials who feared that they may rally behind a former Toyotomi supporter or another form of opposition.⁵⁸² Internal exile also took place; 71 noble *Kirishitan* were banished to northern Japan, although some moved voluntarily rather than apostatize.⁵⁸³ The severity of persecution varied according to domain.⁵⁸⁴ In Kokura domain (*Kokura han* 小倉藩) 2047 *Kirishitan* were arrested.⁵⁸⁵ However, some *tozama daimyō* 外様大名⁵⁸⁶ such as Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567-1636CE) in Sendai domain (*Sendai han* 仙台藩) did not instate the law.⁵⁸⁷ Of the martyrs for whom details are known 63 Japanese were martyred that year, however, such a figure does not include those who died in prison or through torture, and therefore represents an absolute minimum.⁵⁸⁸

'Underground' Christians," 5-6; Moriwaki, "Kirishitan 'dōjuku' ron: 'sei' to 'zoku' ni ikita Nihonjin," 246; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 56; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 150-151.

⁵⁸⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 327.

⁵⁸¹ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 4.

⁵⁸² Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 74.

⁵⁸³ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 3; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 96.

⁵⁸⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 331.

⁵⁸⁵ Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 16.

⁵⁸⁶ *Tozama daimyō* were those *daimyō* who had risen independently of Ieyasu. They retained some independence. Tsuji and Bolitho, "Politics in the eighteenth century," 430; Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in Seventeenth Century Japanese Diplomacy*, 9; Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 33; Scalapino, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan: The Failure of the First Attempt*, 8-9.

⁵⁸⁷ Persecution in Sendai didn't begin until 1620. Takagi, *Tōhoku no Kirishitan junkyōchi o yuku*, 174; Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*, 114-222.

⁵⁸⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 334, 448.

In 1614, as a result of dissatisfaction amongst former Toyotomi vassals,⁵⁸⁹ an anti-Tokugawa coalition headed by Hideyoshi's heir, Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593-1615CE), was formed.⁵⁹⁰ Hideyori defeated Ieyasu when he unified the country in 1600 and numerous *rōnin* 浪人 and *Kirishitan*, amassed a force of 90,000 men at Osaka Castle (*Ōsaka jō* 大阪城).⁵⁹¹ The *Kirishitan* bore crosses and Christian insignia on their banners.⁵⁹² Three Franciscans, two Jesuits, and two native clergy were also present.⁵⁹³ Ieyasu responded with a force of approximately 180,000 men, and a peace was negotiated in early 1615.⁵⁹⁴ Hideyori amassed his forces a second time.⁵⁹⁵ The rebellion was crushed in mid-1615, and Hideyori committed suicide.⁵⁹⁶ The Siege of Osaka (*Ōsaka no Jin* 大坂の陣) and

⁵⁸⁹ Ieyasu had denied giving Hideyori's retainers court status, and then refused to allow the court to intercede in this matter. Naohiro with Jansen, "Shogun and Tennō," 261. Several letters recording the downward spiral in Ieyasu and Hideyori's relations, and Hideyori's request of military assistance from Shimazu Tadatsune 島津忠恒 (1576-1638CE, also known as Iehisa 家久) are translated in *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume Two: 1600 to 2000*, see: Boot "Account of Tokugawa," 20-21; Boot "Letter from Honda Masazumi and Konchiin Sūden to Katagiri Katsumoto," 21-22; Boot "Letter from Toyotomi Hideyori to Shimazu Iehisa," 22. The Japanese texts of the respective documents are found in: Kuroita ed. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, 331-332; Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo ed., *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, part 14, 457; Kagoshimaken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo ed., *Kyūki zatsuroku, kōhen*, vol. 4, 550.

⁵⁹⁰ Davis, *Besieged: 100 Great Sieges from Jericho to Sarajevo*, 125. On the events of the rebellion, see: Turnbull, *Osaka 1615: The Last Battle of the Samurai*.

⁵⁹¹ Davis, *Besieged*, 125. Streich, "Osaka Castle, Battle of (1614-1615)," 302.

⁵⁹² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 331.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Davis, *Besieged*, 125, 127; Streich, "Osaka Castle, Battle of (1614-1615)," 302.

⁵⁹⁵ Davis, *Besieged*, 127.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 127-128; Streich, "Osaka Castle, Battle of (1614-1615)," 302; Murdoch with Yamagata, *A History of Japan*, vol. 2, 550.

consequential rapid changes to legislation,⁵⁹⁷ gave a short respite to the *Kirishitan*, and all but one clergyman present at the castle escaped.⁵⁹⁸

After the 1614 *edict*, anti-*Kirishitan* decrees were reissued successively on an almost yearly basis.⁵⁹⁹ Following Ieyasu's death, and likely influenced by the presence of priests at the Siege of Osaka,⁶⁰⁰ Hidetada issued a decree (the *nikō seigen rei* 二港制限令/*minato seigen rei* 港制限令)⁶⁰¹ in 1616, strengthening former anti-*Kirishitan* measures. Hiding or assisting *Kirishitan* was made punishable under the penalty of death.⁶⁰² Hidetada's decree also banned foreigners from staying in major cities,⁶⁰³ prohibited the Kyushu *daimyō* from conducting trade within their domains,⁶⁰⁴ and confined foreign trade to Nagasaki and Hirado.⁶⁰⁵ This illustrates an evolution in anti-*Kirishitan* policy, whereby it became not only a matter of internal affairs, but also had an impact on and relation to trade and foreign

⁵⁹⁷ The rapid legislative changes of 1615 included *Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度, which regulated the conduct of warriors and their households, *Kinchū narabi ni kuge shohatto* 禁中並公家諸法度, which regulated the conduct of the emperor and nobility, and subordinated the Buddhist hierarchy to the court, and the *Ikkoku ichijō rei* 一国一城令, which reduced the number of castles to one per province. English translations are found in: Boot "Code for the Warrior Households (Buke Shohatto)," 12-14; Boot "Code for the Imperial Court and Court Nobility (Kinchū Narabi ni Kuge Shohatto)," 14-18. The Japanese texts are found in: Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo ed., *Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, part 22, 19-22, 161-164. On the *Ikkoku ichijō rei*, see: Takayanagi, "Genna ikkoku ichijō rei," 863-888; Mitchelhill, *Castles of the Samuria: Power and Beauty*, 67.

⁵⁹⁸ Boxer and Ross claim that all lived and could go free, however, Elison notes that native priest Tōan Francisco was killed during the siege, and Murdoch argues that the reason the other priests lived was their escape rather than the authorities' leniency. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 330-331; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 96; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 161; Murdoch with Yamagata, *A History of Japan*, vol. 2, 542, n. 18.

⁵⁹⁹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 74.

⁶⁰⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 332.

⁶⁰¹ Partial Japanese texts are included in: Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 315; Zhāng, "Tokugawa Ieyasu no Sunpu gaikōtaiksei: Sunpu no kōsō ni tsuite," 205. See also: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 207-208.

⁶⁰² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 332; Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, 147; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 97.

⁶⁰³ Kamstra, "Kakure Kirishitan: The Hidden or Secret Christians of Nagasaki," 141.

⁶⁰⁴ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 78; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 315.

⁶⁰⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 332.

relations.⁶⁰⁶ Whilst correspondence between Ieyasu and the Spanish Governor-General of Manila included references to Christianity, a legal framework seeking to control both trade and the *Kirishitan* had not previously been formulated.⁶⁰⁷

The control and centralization of trade began under Hideyoshi who issued passes (*shuinjō* 朱印状) to those who wished to trade with Japan.⁶⁰⁸ The *shuinsen* 朱印船 system sought to limit piracy, and was adopted by Ieyasu in 1601 allowing the *bakufu* to directly control all trade in Japan and limit the revenue of the Kyushu *daimyō*.⁶⁰⁹ Like Hideyoshi, Ieyasu also employed *bugyō* 奉行 to administer Nagasaki.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, he took direct control of Japan's commercial centres.⁶¹¹ In 1604, he created the *itowappu* 糸割符 (P. *Pancada*), a system for the control of the trade of raw silk with the Portuguese, which established fixed prices and gave Japanese merchants a monopoly to purchase raw silk.⁶¹²

Through the inclusion of anti-*Kirishitan* injunctions in an edict on trade, Hidetada extended the scope of both anti-*Kirishitan* and trade policies, which were to be henceforth intimately linked.⁶¹³ This illustrates the primary motivation of the *bakufu*'s anti-*Kirishitan*

⁶⁰⁶ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 70. On the control of trade under the *bakufu* and its relation to anti-*Kirishitan* policy, see: Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 288-314.

⁶⁰⁷ Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 2, 109.

⁶⁰⁸ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 11-12; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 289.

⁶⁰⁹ Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 2, 12.

⁶¹⁰ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 11; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 290; Nabemoto, "Edo Jidai shoki ni okeru ryōshu kenryoku to 'Nagasaki Bugyō' no kakusho: 'Igirisu shōkanchō nikki' o chūshin ni shite," 51-88.

⁶¹¹ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, 54.

⁶¹² Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan*, 128; Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 75; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 290-296.

⁶¹³ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 127.

stance: control over all aspects of Japan. Despite all this, because persecution was carried out on a domain level its severity varied based on the choices of individual *daimyō*.⁶¹⁴ Boxer argues that until 1618, a blind eye was generally turned toward anti-*Kirishitan* laws,⁶¹⁵ a phenomenon that Ross describes as a 'strange period of calm.'⁶¹⁶ Persecution was mostly confined to Arima as a continuation of the 1612 *injunction* and the ramifications of the Okamoto incident.⁶¹⁷ Nevertheless, martyrdoms continued and Hidetada's strengthening of the law resulted in the first *bakufu* ordered execution of foreign missionaries (representing all the religious orders) in 1617.⁶¹⁸

In 1618, a further scandal rocked the court, however, as with the *San Felipe* incident historical truth is blurred by politicized and diverging accounts.⁶¹⁹ Murayama Tōan 村山等安 (1562-1619CE),⁶²⁰ the *Nagasaki daikan* 長崎代官 (governor of Nagasaki), became the centre of a dispute when Suetsugu Heizo 末次平藏 (1546-1630) accused him of corruption, being a *Kirishitan*, and concealing *Kirishitan*.⁶²¹ Evidence emerged that Tōan's son, a priest, had been present at the Siege of Osaka on the Toyotomi side where he was killed, and that

⁶¹⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 331.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 332.

⁶¹⁶ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 96.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 332.

⁶¹⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 160.

⁶²⁰ Alternative spellings include: 東安, 東庵, 等庵.

⁶²¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 274, 333. Yosaburo Takekoshi provides a more detailed account, however, it is at times confusing due to his failure to distinguish clearly between Heizo and relatives of the same name. Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 2, 84, 185-187. For greater clarity compare with: Elisonas, "Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City," 86; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 159-164.

Tōan himself had sent provisions to assist the anti-Tokugawa forces.⁶²² Heizo also accused Tōan of killing a family of 17 or 18 Japanese for refusing to allow him to have one of their daughters.⁶²³ This reflected the trial's general theme; Tōan's corruption.⁶²⁴ Both men were *Kirishitan*, but Heizo chose to apostatize.⁶²⁵ The court ruled in favour of Heizo who was appointed *daikan*.⁶²⁶ Tōan and his family were executed in late 1619, whilst his eldest son, Tokuan 徳安,⁶²⁷ was executed for concealing missionaries one month earlier.⁶²⁸ As a last attempt to save himself, Tōan supplied the *bakufu* a list of hidden priests⁶²⁹ compiled by apostates including a man named Habian ハビアン (1565-1621CE).⁶³⁰ Habian had been a prominent Jesuit apologist and author, but apostatized in 1608 or 1609.⁶³¹ The extent to which he acted as a government informant is unclear.⁶³² In 1619, a native ex-Jesuit priest who trained in Rome, but had been dismissed from the Society on moral charges, Araki Ryōhaku 荒木了伯 (baptized Thomas), was arrested in Ōmura and apostatized joining the

⁶²² Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 2, 186; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 161.

⁶²³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 333; Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan*, 39.

⁶²⁴ Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 2, 186; Elisonas, "Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City," 86; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 160.

⁶²⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 333.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁶²⁷ Alternatively spelt 徳庵.

⁶²⁸ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 163; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 334.

⁶²⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 162-163.

⁶³⁰ Also known as Fabian, Fukansai Habian 不干斎巴鼻庵, Hapian ハビアン, Habiyan ハビヤン, and Fukan 不干. Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 10. Biographical information in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 142-184; Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 10-51; Hibbard, *Refutation of Deus by Fabian*, xi-xviii; Baskind and Bowring, "The *Myōtei* Dialogues in Early Edo Thought," 5-7.

⁶³¹ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 10-11; Hibbard, *Refutation of Deus by Fabian*, xvi.

⁶³² Hibbard, *Refutation of Deus by Fabian*, xvii.

Tokugawa side as an informant and member of the *bakufu*'s inquisition.⁶³³ The Tōan affair and Araki's and Habian's testimony revealed that missionaries continued to exist in hiding, and therefore the persecutions intensified, leading to the complete destruction of the closed ecclesiastical buildings in Nagasaki and their reconstruction as Buddhist temples or new streets.⁶³⁴ The bodies of deceased *Kirishitan* were exhumed and graveyards desecrated.⁶³⁵

In 1618, the total numbers of martyrs increased by 240% to 68 from 20 in the previous year, and almost 30% more the next year when they reached the number of 88.⁶³⁶ From 1619, the *bakufu* began offering rewards (*Kenshō sonin* 懸賞訴人) for informants (*Sonin* 訴人).⁶³⁷ These were listed on wooden notice boards (*kōsatsu* 高札/*seisatsu* 制札) in Nagasaki.⁶³⁸ In 1619, the reward was 30 silver coins for a *bateren*.⁶³⁹ The following year Habian published his *Ha Daiusu* 破提字子,⁶⁴⁰ wherein he discussed Christian doctrine reinforcing contemporaneous criticisms.⁶⁴¹ Anti-*Kirishitan* works were not a new phenomenon, in 1606 Neo-Confucian, Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657CE),⁶⁴² wrote *Hai*

⁶³³ Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 29, n. 107; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 136.

⁶³⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 334.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ These figures include four Europeans in 1617, one in 1618, and two in 1619. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448.

⁶³⁷ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 500.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 500-501.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 502; Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 178.

⁶⁴⁰ Occasionally rendered *Ha Deus*. Japanese text in: Ebisawa ed., "Ha Daiusu," 423-447. English translations include: Hibbard, *Refutation of Deus by Fabian*; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 259-291. A description is provided in: Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 2-5.

⁶⁴¹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 143.

⁶⁴² Also known as Hayashi Dōshun 林道春.

Yaso 排耶蘇,⁶⁴³ the record of a discussion between the then Jesuit, Habian, and himself, although this was not published until fourteen years after Razan's death in 1671.⁶⁴⁴ Habian's *Ha Daiusu*, the first published anti-*Kirishitan* text, became the most effective and widely distributed of its kind, and was used as a model for further anti-*Kirishitan* writings.⁶⁴⁵ Its publication and the *bakufu*'s employment of informants, marked a more thorough centralization of the mechanisms of persecution and their popularization. Nevertheless, 1620 and 1621 saw a dramatic decrease in the number of martyrs.⁶⁴⁶

In 1620, Augustinian missionary, Pedro de Zuñiga, and Dominican, Luis Flores, disguised as Spanish merchants, were captured at sea by the English and turned over to the Dutch to be taken to Japan as prisoners.⁶⁴⁷ With Araki's assistance the Dutch and English attempted to prove that they were illegal missionaries, however, the Nagasaki *bugyō*, Hasegawa Gonroku 長谷川権六, who knew Zuñiga personally, postponed hearings and refused to accept the evidence put before him.⁶⁴⁸ The two men eventually confessed under

⁶⁴³ Japanese text in: Ebisawa ed., "Hai Yaso," 413-417; Ebisawa, Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., *Kirishitan sho: Haiya sho*, 490-491. English translation in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 149-153. Descriptions provided in: Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 2; Ebisawa, "Seiyō tenmongaku no denrai," 33-36; Muller, "Hai-Yaso 排耶蘇 – Anti-Jesus. Hayashi Razan's antichristlicher Bericht über eine konfuzianisch-christliche Disputation aus dem Jahre 1606," 268-275.

⁶⁴⁴ Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 2, 7-8; Muller, "Hai-Yaso 排耶蘇 – Anti-Jesus. Hayashi Razan's antichristlicher Bericht über eine konfuzianisch-christliche Disputation aus dem Jahre 1606," 268.

⁶⁴⁵ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 101, 110; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 156. Conversely, Anesaki notes that only three copies of the text have survived and therefore ascertaining the extent of its distribution is difficult. Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," p. 2 n. 2, and p. 3.

⁶⁴⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448.

⁶⁴⁷ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 345-346; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 272-274.

⁶⁴⁸ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 346.

Dutch torture,⁶⁴⁹ forcing Gonroku's hand resulting in the execution of the missionaries and smugglers in 1622.⁶⁵⁰ This was only the tip of the iceberg of a persistent problem facing the *bakufu*; the illegal smuggling and entry of missionaries into Japan in spite of both their exile and the prospect of execution.⁶⁵¹

Alongside smuggling, the persistence of Christianity and continued baptisms,⁶⁵² led Hidetada to intensify his policy again in 1622.⁶⁵³ He ordered all imprisoned members of the religious orders, and the families who had concealed them to be executed.⁶⁵⁴ 55 were killed at Nishizaka 西坂 near Nagasaki, including 19 members of religious orders (13 Europeans, 6 Japanese).⁶⁵⁵ At the subsequent martyrdoms of Zuñiga and Flores many *Kirishitan*

⁶⁴⁹ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 274-277.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 277-279; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98. An account is given in a Spanish document written in Manila (1623) including details exempt from Boxer's, Ross's and Kataoka's accounts. The author writes that a Dominican priest had gone to Hirado to attempt to covertly release Flores, and succeeded in releasing several imprisoned Christians, however, the plot was uncovered and all were recaptured. This invoked the wrath of the authorities, who then sought to punish the smugglers, friars, and other imprisoned Christians and their relatives. During the trial, he writes that none apostatised, and all rejoiced over the prospect of martyrdom. Although the truth of his testimony is unclear it is also noteworthy that the author writes that the smugglers (Hirayama Jōchin 平山常陳 and his crew of 12) were Christians, and that the smuggling of priests was generally undertaken by Christian captains. The text entitled *Relacion breve de los grandes y rigurosos martirios que el año passado de 1622 dieron en el Japon a ciento y diez y ocho iustissimos Martyres, sacada principalmente de las cartas de los Padres de la Compañia de Iesus que alli residen: y de lo que han referido muchas personas de aquel Reyno, que en dos Nauios llegaron a la Ciudad de Manila a 12 de Agosto de 1623* is printed with English translation in: *A short description of the Great and Terrible Martyrdoms which took place in Japan in the year 1622, translated from an old Spanish pamphlet published in Madrid in the year 1624, with full size photographic reproduction of the original.*

⁶⁵¹ Elisonas notes that in 1614 there were only 27 Jesuits left in Japan, increasing to a figure of 36 by 1621. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 368. Boxer notes that more than 20 entered Japan between 1615 and 1616 on Iberian ships. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 355.

⁶⁵² Around 17,000 converted between 1614 and 1626. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 368.

⁶⁵³ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Elisonas, "Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City," 95; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448. A contemporaneous account of the 1622 martyrdoms can be found in: *A short description of the Great and Terrible Martyrdoms which took place in Japan in the year 1622.*

gathered and sang psalms.⁶⁵⁶ Such witnessing was common during the martyrdoms that had taken place since 1614.⁶⁵⁷ Hidetada now sought to restrict such practice, the bodies of the executed were burnt and ashes cast into the sea so that they couldn't be used as relics.⁶⁵⁸ Orders were given to punish anyone who prayed or sang at execution sites; men were to be executed and women humiliated through public nudity.⁶⁵⁹ The number of martyrdoms that year increased to 132, an increase of 560% from the previous year's 20.⁶⁶⁰ Despite this, persecution continued to vary according to domain as did the responses to those witnessing at execution grounds.⁶⁶¹ For Ross, the intensifications of 1622 marked the beginning of the realization that the current methods of martyrdom were doing little to destroy Christianity or abate conversions.⁶⁶²

In 1623, Hidetada was succeeded by his son Iemitsu, although he held authority until his death in 1632.⁶⁶³ Iemitsu was the first Tokugawa leader to be born a shogun rather than a *daimyō*, and as most of the formerly powerful *Sengoku daimyō* had died, he was able to wield real authority over his peers.⁶⁶⁴ Ross writes:

⁶⁵⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 342-343. The aforementioned Spanish account states that the captain Jōchin preached to the crowds until his death. It also notes that the crowds were not only present for the execution, but continued to visit the site day and night worshipping there, and were able to obtain relics including all the remnants of de Zuñiga, despite some visitors being beaten by the guards. *A short description of the Great and Terrible Martyrdoms which took place in Japan in the year 1622.*

⁶⁵⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 342; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98.

⁶⁵⁸ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 344.

⁶⁶² Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 98.

⁶⁶³ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 25.

⁶⁶⁴ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 13.

lemitsu not only brought in new approaches to the problem of extirpating Christianity, he also enforced the existing edicts in a more organized and thorough way than either of his predecessors.⁶⁶⁵

However, such an intensity was not exclusive to anti-*Kirishitan* policy, rather under lemitsu 'all...were ruthlessly subjected to the regime.'⁶⁶⁶ The intensity of lemitsu's 1623 and 1624 persecutions was provoked by the discovery of a *Kirishitan* community and priests in Edo.⁶⁶⁷ In late 1623, he martyred 50 *Kirishitan* including two European priests in Edo.⁶⁶⁸ A further 37 were killed a few weeks later.⁶⁶⁹ Of the latter group only 24 were *Kirishitan*, the others were those who had sheltered or assisted *Kirishitan* in some way, including lemitsu's bodyguard, Matsūra Sannosuke 松浦三之助, who had been unaware of the *Kirishitan* hidden in his house.⁶⁷⁰ For Cieslik, the executions were staged to make an impression on the *daimyō*, a fact illustrated by their taking place on the *Tōkaidō* 東海道 (the busiest road

⁶⁶⁵ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 99; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 267-271.

⁶⁶⁶ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 13.

⁶⁶⁷ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 99; Cieslik, "Edo no Daijunkyō," 55-105.

⁶⁶⁸ The known names of 37 of these martyrs are listed in: Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 30-32; Cieslik, "Edo no Daijunkyō," 87-89. Originally there were 51, but one apostatized prior to execution. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 360; Nihon Katorikku Shikyō Kyōgikai – Ressei Reppuku Tokubetsu linkai ed., *Petoro Kibe to 187 Junkyōsha*, 33-35.

⁶⁶⁹ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 32; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 353-362.

⁶⁷⁰ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 99; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 357; Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 32, 34.

in Japan) rather than at the execution grounds in the city.⁶⁷¹ By 1624, all *daimyō* showed their loyalty by increasing anti-*Kirishitan* measures in their domains.⁶⁷² The annual Jesuit letter from that year notes that:

there was not a single Christian who did not in some degree or other bear the marks of its fury. Many were put to death, many cast into prison, many more driven into exile. Others retired into hiding; others again abandoned their homes rather than run the risk of apostasy in the pagan community...day after day new officials arrive whose sole duty...is to break the spirit of the Christians by threats and torture.⁶⁷³

The execution of non-*Kirishitan* led to an increase in the number of informants.⁶⁷⁴ In 1625, the reward for informants of priests was increased to as much as 300 silver pieces, although generally appears to have been set at 100 pieces, with *kōsatsu* having been erected in Kyoto and Edo since 1622 and 1623 respectively.⁶⁷⁵

Ross argues that the implementation of anti-*Kirishitan* policy lacked rigour in 1625 and 1626.⁶⁷⁶ Statistically Ross's thesis appears to be true,⁶⁷⁷ however, Cieslik argues that

⁶⁷¹ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 25; Cieslik, "Edo no Daijunkyō," 101-105. Under Ieyasu the *daimyō* had been encouraged to establish residences in Edo, and in 1610 it became compulsory for them to send hostages there. Tsukahira, *Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan: The Sankin Kōtai System*, 8; Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 144.

⁶⁷² Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 99.

⁶⁷³ Quoted in: Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 15.

⁶⁷⁴ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 34.

⁶⁷⁵ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 178; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 502-503.

⁶⁷⁶ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 99.

⁶⁷⁷ There were a total of 29 martyrs. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448.

rather than lacking rigour, the low number of martyrdoms resulted from the emergence of a new approach that focused on making apostates rather than martyrs.⁶⁷⁸ From 1627, the machinery needed in order to definitively rid Japan of the *Kirishitan* was developed and efficaciously implemented.⁶⁷⁹ The resurgence of severe persecutions in 1627 resulted from Nagasaki *bugyō*, Mizuno Morinobu's 水野守信 (1588-1637CE) implementation of a variety of new measures to persecute the *Kirishitan*.⁶⁸⁰ Such was the severity with which Morinobu acted, that it undoubtedly inspired harsher persecutions amongst the *daimyō* not desiring to fall out of favour with Iemitsu or to be exposed as inactive. Cary argues that it was Morinobu's capture of a Franciscan missionary unable to destroy a list detailing the members of the Order present in Japan that forced Iemitsu to demand more stringent nationwide enforcement of the policy,⁶⁸¹ but this is not verified in other sources. Two major events in 1627 may have also aided in triggering more severe persecutions. First, the Manchu invaded Korea.⁶⁸² Iemitsu dispatched a reconnaissance mission and offered military assistance, however, his actions were too late; Korea had surrendered in April.⁶⁸³ Iemitsu's measures were inspired by the "memory" of the Mongol invasions (*Genkō* 元寇,

⁶⁷⁸ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 41.

⁶⁷⁹ Under Iemitsu the martyrdom of missionary personnel almost doubled, from 46 between 1614 and 1623, to 88 between 1624 and 1639. Similarly, the martyrdom of ordinary believers almost quadrupled from 390 to 1520 in the same periods. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 173.

⁶⁸⁰ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 354; Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 210-212.

⁶⁸¹ Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 212.

⁶⁸² Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 112-113. Commonly known as the Later Jin Invasion of Joseon, *Dīngmǎo zhànzhēng* 丁卯戰爭 (Chinese), and *Teibō koran* 丁卯胡乱 (Japanese).

⁶⁸³ Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, 113-114.

1274 and 1281) three centuries earlier, and sought to reduce the possibility of a Manchu invasion of Japan.⁶⁸⁴ Perhaps the reinforced fear of external threats illustrated to Iemitsu the continued need to eliminate other threats to his sovereignty. Second, was the *shie chokkyo jiken* 紫衣勅許事件 (the purple robe incident).⁶⁸⁵ Since 1613, the *bakufu* had attempted to limit the imperial household's ability to award titles and robes to Buddhist monks, however, these regulations were ignored.⁶⁸⁶ In 1627, the *bakufu* therefore stripped 150 clerics of their imperially awarded rank, eliciting a strong rebuke and criticism of the *bakufu* on the part of numerous Buddhist leaders.⁶⁸⁷ Consequently, in 1629 several monks were exiled and Emperor Go-Mizunō 後水尾 (1596-1680) abdicated.⁶⁸⁸ Strained *bakufu*-imperial household relations lasted until Iemitsu pardoned those involved in 1634 following Hidetada's death.⁶⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the event ended any real political power the imperial household held, and brought Buddhism further under *bakufu* control.⁶⁹⁰ The resurgence of persecution in 1627 was therefore necessitated by the fact that a potential external and internal threat (the *Kirishitan*) still existed, but was also linked to continued attempts by the *bakufu* to increase its control over religion.

⁶⁸⁴ Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 113.

⁶⁸⁵ Williams, "The Purple Robe Incident and the Formation of the Early Modern Sōtō Zen Institution," 27-43.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 35; Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, 5.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

⁶⁸⁹ Bruschke-Johnson, "Insincere Blessings? Court-Bakufu Relations and the Creation of *Engi* Scrolls in Honour of Tokugawa Ieyasu," 160.

⁶⁹⁰ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 27-28.

The machinery of persecution built by Iemitsu almost universally had its origins in the policies of his predecessors and peers. As noted, the system of remunerations for informants began under Hidetada in 1619. Miyazaki Kentarō argues that *kōsatsu* were introduced to all regions under direct *bakufu* control in 1633,⁶⁹¹ however they already existed in Kyoto and Edo by this time.⁶⁹² In 1636, rewards increased from 200 to 300 silver pieces for a *bateren*.⁶⁹³ In 1638, the price for religious brothers (J. *iruman* 伊留満/入満, P. *irmãos*) increased to 100 silver pieces.⁶⁹⁴ 30-50 pieces were offered for lay believers.⁶⁹⁵ *Kōsatsu* were used until the early Meiji period being scrapped in 1873, and reached a maximum remuneration of 500 silver coins for *bateren*, 300 for *iruman*, 100 for *dōjuku*, 100 for lay believers, and 300 for apostates (those who reconverted to Christianity) during the late 17th Century.⁶⁹⁶ The number of informants and therefore the efficacy of the policy are unclear. The Jesuit Annual Letter of 1624 notes the disdain with which an informant of the Great Martyrdom of Edo was treated by other non-*Kirishitan*.⁶⁹⁷ However, Cieslik notes an

⁶⁹¹ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 12.

⁶⁹² Kataoka charts their spread to different cities in: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 503. A translation of a *kōsatsu* is included in: Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 64. The *Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database* (*Rauresu Kirishitan Bunko Dēta Bēsu*, ラウレスキリシタン文庫データベース) includes 9 *kōsatsu*, Japanese transcriptions and English translations have been provided for three. Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., "Christian Artefacts, 4: Anti-Christian Decrees (*Kōsatsu*)."

⁶⁹³ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 178. Tamamuro notes that 200 silver coins when converted to rice, was the equivalent of twenty years' consumption for a family of four. Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 20.

⁶⁹⁴ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 178.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 178-179; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 502. See also: Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 3, 87-88.

⁶⁹⁷ Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 30.

increase in the number of *Kirishitan* informants following the executions.⁶⁹⁸ Tamamuro Fumio suggests that *kōsatsu* were a motivating factor for many informants, but notes that documents recording the payment of informants are sparse, and that it was possibly a ploy to expose *Kirishitan*.⁶⁹⁹ Truthfully, the number of informants is unimportant, the *kōsatsu* acted as a constant reminder of the law, and their renewal illustrated the continued relevance of *bakufu* policy. If the system had remained necessary for finding informants after the major persecutions of the 17th Century, this would be an admission of the failure of *bakufu* policy,⁷⁰⁰ and it therefore appears that it acted, at least during later periods, primarily as propaganda.

In 1642, the system of remuneration was combined with the *goningumi* 五人組 (groups of five families); neighbourhood associations based on units of five households.⁷⁰¹ The *goningumi* provided a form of surveillance; the members were obliged to watch their families, employees and tenants, for whose actions they were responsible and whose transgressions they were expected to inform to their superiors, however, these groups also acted as mutual assistance networks covering all aspects of local administration.⁷⁰² Due to

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁹⁹ Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 20-21.

⁷⁰⁰ Nosco, "Secrecy and Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 21-24.

⁷⁰¹ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 12. In Laver's translation of a 1682 *kōsatsu* it states that if it was revealed that a person had hidden a *Kirishitan*, the village head, the *goningumi* and one's relatives would be punished. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 64. Principal works on the *goningumi* system include: Hozumi and Hozumi, *Goningumi hōkishū*, 3 vols; Nomura, *Goningumichō no kenkyū*; Nishimura, *Goningumi seido shinron*.

⁷⁰² Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 3, 392, 395-396; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 44.

the principle of *renza* 連座, a crime committed by one member of the group could render all responsible and punished.⁷⁰³ If a member was discovered to be a *Kirishitan*, the other group members could be subjected to punishments including fines and execution dependent on their locality.⁷⁰⁴ Although similar systems had existed for centuries, the direct predecessor to the *goningumi* was Hideyoshi's creation of *goningumi* for samurai, and a ten-man group system for farmers (*jūningumi* 十人組), the main goals of which were order and policing.⁷⁰⁵ Under the Tokugawa the *goningumi* sought not only to police, but also to foster agriculture, industry and education.⁷⁰⁶ The *goningumi* system was instated on a national level in 1633; however, it was not until its combination with the system of remuneration in 1642 that the discovery and persecution of *Kirishitan* was made the explicit responsibility of these groups.⁷⁰⁷ Whilst this resulted in several incidences of non-*Kirishitan* family members reported on their *Kirishitan* relatives,⁷⁰⁸ the *goningumi* system also offered *Kirishitan* the ability to practice their faith underground by organizing themselves into these groupings thereby subverting the system.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰³ Frédéric, "Renza," 788. A system of *renza shobatsu* 連座処罰 (punishment by implication in a crime/link to a criminal) was not exclusive to the *goningumi* system; those related to people caught hiding *Kirishitan*, but not part of the same *goningumi* could be punished by implication. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 499.

⁷⁰⁴ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 194; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 499-500.

⁷⁰⁵ Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 3, 391; Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan: The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-ho*, 176-177.

⁷⁰⁶ Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 3, 391; Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan*, 176-177.

⁷⁰⁷ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 193.

⁷⁰⁸ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 68.

⁷⁰⁹ Nosco, "Secrecy and Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 8; Nosco, "The Experiences of Christians during the Underground Years and Thereafter," 89; Harrington, "The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan's Religious Tradition," 324-325. Hitomi Tonomura

Under Ieyasu apostates were required to register at temples in order to gain certification of their conversion to Buddhism.⁷¹⁰ From the 1630s, this system was gradually expanded to the general populace as a system of temple certification (*terauke seido* 寺請制度/*danka seido* 檀家制度) through which non-*Kirishitan* and *Kirishitan* alike were forced to become temple parishioners in order to affirm their non-*Kirishitan* religious identity.⁷¹¹ In 1635, the Office of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行) was established.⁷¹² Through this office administrative head temples (*furegashira jiin* 触頭寺院) were created for each sect, which 'would require their branch temples to expose Christians in all villages.'⁷¹³ This structure served to create a network of religious monitoring.⁷¹⁴ By 1638, certificates (*terauke shōmon* 寺請証文) were necessary for all Japanese.⁷¹⁵ All temples were required to certify non-*Kirishitan*, after which village heads or local officials compiled an annual register.⁷¹⁶ Nam-lin Hur notes therefore that two processes were occurring;

notes that villagers largely controlled the governance of their own village, as such it is probable that the system could have easily been subverted by majoritarian *Kirishitan* villages. Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan*, 176.

⁷¹⁰ Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 16. Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, 85-86.

⁷¹¹ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 15; Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, 85-86. A concise history is provided in: Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 181-184.

⁷¹² Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 17. The Office was established on a domainal basis in 1664 known by the same name or by the term *shūmon bugyō* 宗門奉行. Tamamuro, "Local Society and the Temple-Parishioner Relationship within the Bakufu's Governance Structure," 262.

⁷¹³ Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 17-18.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., 18.

⁷¹⁵ Tamamuro, "Local Society and the Temple-Parishioner Relationship within the Bakufu's Governance Structure," 262. Miyazaki and Shimizu provide the earlier date of 1635. Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 12-13; Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan: Orasho*, 20; Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 182.

⁷¹⁶ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 16. The registers' format was standardised in 1671. Tamamuro, "Local Society and the Temple-Parishioner Relationship within the Bakufu's Governance Structure," 262.

terauke seido, the certifying by an abbot that those affiliated with a temple were not *Kirishitan*, and the creation of a register by the locality's official.⁷¹⁷ The system was not solely concerned with investigating *Kirishitan*, but also recorded 'ages...marriages, departures for service elsewhere, deaths, births, and changes of residences.'⁷¹⁸ Temples and the Buddhist clergy thereby increased their control over parishioners and simultaneously became state organs.⁷¹⁹ This radically altered the nature of Japanese Buddhism, expanding the number of temples, providing them with legal responsibility for their parishioners' religion, and the authority to 'insist on a strong parishioner relationship with the temple.'⁷²⁰ It created a permanent relationship between parishioner and temple,⁷²¹ which involved participation in annual rituals, the performance of funerals, and financial obligations,⁷²² providing Buddhism with complete domination over ancestral and funeral rites, and guaranteeing its prosperity and continued existence through funerary fees.⁷²³ The *terauke seido* system ended in the early Meiji period.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁷ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 16.

⁷¹⁸ Tamamuro, "Local Society and the Temple-Parishioner Relationship within the Bakufu's Governance Structure," 263.

⁷¹⁹ Rowe, *Bonds of the Dead: Temples, Burial, and the Transformation of Contemporary Japanese Buddhism*, 21.

⁷²⁰ Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," 22.

⁷²¹ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 16.

⁷²² Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, 86.

⁷²³ Ibid.

⁷²⁴ Namihira, "The Characteristics of Japanese Concepts and Attitudes with Regard to Human Remains," 65.

In 1633, Christovão Ferreira (1580-1650CE), who was both Vice-Provincial (L. *Provincialis vices gerens*)⁷²⁵ and Vicar General (until another could be appointed following the arrest of his predecessor Sebastião Vieira), apostatized under torture, providing a major gain for the *bakufu*.⁷²⁶ Renamed Sawano Chūan 沢野忠庵, he was made to marry a Japanese widow.⁷²⁷ Apostates were used to full effect in Japanese propaganda;⁷²⁸ however Ferreira's apostasy was pertinent not because of the *bakufu*'s ability to use him as an example of the falsehood of Christianity, but due to his involvement in the anti-*Kirishitan* inquisition.⁷²⁹ The *Kiyō zakki* 崎陽雜記 states that Ferreira alongside the aforementioned Thomas Araki, and the apostate priest Miguel Gotō Ryōjun ミゲル後藤了順,⁷³⁰ began a system of taking written oaths from apostates in order to prevent recantation.⁷³¹ Apostates

⁷²⁵ Vice-Provincial has two meanings; 'a Superior nominated by Rome to administer a Vice Province...*Praepositus Vice-Provinciae*...[or] a *Provincialis vices gerens*, who is nominated by an actual Provincial to take his place during his absence or in case of incapacity. The Japanese Province...was cut off almost completely from contact abroad. It had therefore been decided that, in the event of the sudden death or arrest of the Provincial of Japan, the oldest professed Jesuit in the country would automatically take charge.' (Cieslik, 1974; 12). Ferreira was a Vice-Provincial of the second kind. He had also been officially appointed as a Vice-Provincial (*Praepositus Vice-Provinciae*) by the Superior in Rome in 1632, but this news had not reached him. In Japanese the term for Vice-Provincial is *jun kanku chō* 準管区長. During the persecutions when the Provincial (*kanku chō* 管区長) was absent the term *fuku kanku chō* 副管区長 was used. Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 12; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 37-38. For further exploration of the positions, see: Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 241-247.

⁷²⁶ Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 1, 11-12, 16, 26.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 26.

⁷²⁹ Cieslik notes that Japanese sources refer to him as a *meakashi* 目明 (government spy), however, there is no evidence that he participated in searching for missionaries and *Kirishitan*. Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 28.

⁷³⁰ Boxer's list of apostate fathers includes neither Araki (because he had left the Jesuit Order prior to his apostasy) nor Ryōjun (because he was a member of the secular clergy). Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 447. On other high ranking apostates, see: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 279-302.

⁷³¹ Quoted in: Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 29.

were made to sign the oath (*korobi kakimono* 転び書物)⁷³² countersigned by the three apostate priests during examinations.⁷³³ One example of these oaths states:

a true revocation of apostasy is quite impossible without the mediation of a padre.

A secret revocation is not possible.⁷³⁴

The signing of an oath thereby became an irreversible declaration of apostasy. Whilst evidence of Ferreira's countersigning of these documents exists, it appears that *korobi kakimono* predated Ferreira's apostasy; Kataoka argues that they were first used in 1616, and spread nationwide in 1635.⁷³⁵ *Korobi kakimono* were based on *kishōmon* 起請文 (written oaths) used since the Heian period (*Heian jidai* 平安時代, 794-1185CE).⁷³⁶ Like the *korobi kakimono*, *kishōmon* threatened divine retribution if broken.⁷³⁷ In the Heian period,

⁷³² Translations of these oaths are included in: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 441-442; Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 30-31. A photo of Boxer's source document, and a partial transcription of an oath are included in: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 506-507. Japanese versions are included in: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 214-216. Two primary types of written oaths have been discovered, those used in Kyoto developed by Itakura Shigemune 板倉重宗 (1586-1657CE) and categorized as *Itakura Suō no Kami kei* 板倉周防守系, and those used in Nagasaki developed by Takenaka Shigeyoshi 竹中重義 (?-1634CE) and categorized as *Takenaka Uneme no Kami kei* 竹中采女守系. Examples of both versions are printed in: Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 195-198. The oaths were also known as *Nanban seishi* 南蛮誓詞, *Kirishitan korobi kakimono* きりしたんころび書物, *Kirishitan shuramento* きりしたんしゅらめんと, *korobi seishi* 転び誓詞 and *korobi shōmon* 転び証文. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 195. See also: Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, vol. 3, 88-89.

⁷³³ Quoted in: Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 29.

⁷³⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 441-442.

⁷³⁵ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 505. See also: Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 145.

⁷³⁶ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 505.

⁷³⁷ Blomberg, *The Heart of the Warrior: Origins and Religious Background of the Samurai System in Feudal Japan*, 93; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 505.

these oaths were used as agreements to protect Buddhist temples, and in the Muromachi period they were used during crises to confirm land rights, rank, and warriors' duties.⁷³⁸ During *Sengoku jidai* they became common, and like some *korobi kakimono* used a seal of the signatory's blood to illustrate their commitment.⁷³⁹ Like the Muromachi period oaths, the *korobi kakimono* were used during a crisis in order to confirm status; in this case the religious identity of the signatory.

Korobi kakimono were often used in conjunction with a ceremony known as *ebumi* or *efumi* 絵踏み.⁷⁴⁰ Developed in the late 1620s, at first *efumi* was a ceremony in which apostates were made to step on Christian objects and representations (*fumie* 踏み絵)⁷⁴¹ in order to confirm their apostasy, and later developed to test whether or not a person was *Kirishitan*.⁷⁴² *Efumi* became widespread, and was used to test a large portion of the indigenous population.⁷⁴³ In Kyushu, *efumi* became a yearly or bi-yearly occurrence.⁷⁴⁴ Its efficacy for discovering *Kirishitan* and reaffirming a former believer's apostasy⁷⁴⁵ led it to

⁷³⁸ Blomberg, *The Heart of the Warrior*, 93.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 93-94; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 506; Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 197.

⁷⁴⁰ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 504-505.

⁷⁴¹ *Fumie* are also referred to as *imazen* イマゼン or *imāhen* イマーヘン (*S. Imagen*), *goei* ごえい, *miei* みえい (*goei* and *miei* are can be written 御影) and *fumasee* ふませ絵. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 187; Gono, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*, 236. Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 217.

⁷⁴² *Fumie* were probably first used under Morinobu or his successor Takenaka in Nagasaki. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 187-190; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 504; Da Costa Kaufman, "Interpreting Cultural Transfer and the Consequences of Markets and Exchange: Reconsidering *Fumi-e*," 143-144; Okada, "Fumie ni suite," 159-162. On *fumie* see: Kataoka, *Fumie: Kinkyō no rekishi*; Shimada and Shimada, *Fumie: Gaikokujin ni yoru fumie no kiroku*.

⁷⁴³ Da Costa Kaufman, "Interpreting Cultural Transfer and the Consequences of Markets and Exchange: Reconsidering *Fumi-e*," 140.

⁷⁴⁴ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 504; Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 190-192.

⁷⁴⁵ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 14.

become a central element of the inquisitional methodology adopted by lemitsu,⁷⁴⁶ however, unlike most of the other aspects of lemitsu's persecution *efumi* was a recent invention.

All these systems were combined under the *shūmon aratame* 宗門改 (Inquisition) and the office of *shūmon aratame yaku* 宗門改役 (Inquisitor) established in 1640.⁷⁴⁷ The first *shūmon aratame yaku* was Inoue Masashige 井上政重 (1585-1661CE),⁷⁴⁸ a possible former *Kirishitan* who apostatized in 1625.⁷⁴⁹ He served Hidetada from 1608,⁷⁵⁰ and in 1625 was promoted to the rank of *metsuke* 目付 (inspector).⁷⁵¹ In 1627, he received a lower junior rank (*jugoi no ge* 従五位下) and the title *Chikugo no kami* 筑後守, and in 1633 he was appointed *Ōmetsuke* 大目付 (inspector-general), before finally becoming a *daimyō* and the *shūmon aratame yaku*.⁷⁵² Based on Inoue's experience, which had taught him that martyrdom did not discourage the spread of Christianity,⁷⁵³ he adopted the methods of persecution established by Takenaka Shigeyoshi 竹中重義 (?-1634CE) and to a lesser extent Morinobu, which stressed apostasy over martyrdom.⁷⁵⁴ For Boxer, such a focus was nothing

⁷⁴⁶ Whelan, "Religion Concealed: The Kakure Kirishitan on Narushima," 370. Its occurrence ended in 1857. Kamstra, "Kakure Kirishitan: The Hidden or Secret Christians of Nagasaki," 141, n. 11.

⁷⁴⁷ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 195. Alongside issues relating to the *Kirishitan*, the *shūmon aratame yaku* was involved in the supervision of Dutch trade and the *daimyō*. On the position, see: Shimizu, "Shūmon aratame yaku nōto," 42-56. For biographical information, see: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 271-276.

⁷⁴⁸ Referred to by his title *Chikugo no Kami* 筑後守.

⁷⁴⁹ Screech, "The shogun's lover's would-be Swedish boyfriend: Inoue Masashige, Tokugawa lemitsu and Olof Eriksson Willman," 106. Elison accepts that Inoue was once a *Kirishitan*, but notes that contemporaneous evidence is sparse. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 445, n. 28.

⁷⁵⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 191.

⁷⁵¹ Blussé, "The Grand Inquisitor Inoue Chikugo no Kami Masashige, Spin Doctor of the Tokugawa Bakufu," 27.

⁷⁵² Ibid; Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 69. The position of *Ōmetsuke* can also be referred to by the terms *Sōmetsuke* 惣目付 and *Daikansatsu* 大監察.

⁷⁵³ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 71.

⁷⁵⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 187, 191-196.

new, the persecutors had always aimed to make apostates rather than martyrs, however, until now the pursuit of apostasy had only met limited success.⁷⁵⁵ The apparent change in focus was certainly not the pioneering work of Inoue alone. Methodology developed in Kyushu, where *bakufu* officials had started relying on the Buddhist clergy to assist in the conversion of *Kirishitan* to Buddhism, was soon taken up by the central government.⁷⁵⁶ Furthermore, the occurrence of several famines, epidemics and natural disasters in the early 1640s caused the *bakufu* to highlight the importance of nurturing the people (a concept known as *bumin* 撫民) during the now compulsory, domainal, anti-*Kirishitan* inspections.⁷⁵⁷ The focus of the persecution, therefore, shifted to discrediting Christianity and converting *Kirishitan* to Buddhism.⁷⁵⁸ If apostasy could not be drawn by persuasion alone then it would be reached through torture,⁷⁵⁹ and if torture failed execution was a final option.⁷⁶⁰ Foreign apostates with official or lay rank were offered rice and silver rations, provided with Japanese names and wives, and were housed in Inoue's prison, the *Kirishitan*

⁷⁵⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 389.

⁷⁵⁶ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 72-74.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., 71-72. For instance, the *Kirishitan Monogatari* 吉利支丹物語 (1638) advises on the treatment of retainers. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 372-372. An English translation of the text is included in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 319-374. Japanese versions of the text are reprinted in: Hiyane ed., *Kirishitan monogatari: hoka sanshu*; Tōhō Shoin ed., "Kirishitan Monogatari," 1-20. Original versions are available online at: Waseda University Library, "Kirishitan Monogatari. Kan daijō, ge."

⁷⁵⁸ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 73.

⁷⁵⁹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 196, 203. Popular torture methods included *ana tsurushi* 穴吊るし (suspension in a pit) and *mokuba* 木馬 (a sort of torture in which victims sat astride a object with weights hung from their feet). For descriptions, see: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 353-354, 392; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 191; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan*, 481-498.

⁷⁶⁰ Blussé, "The Grand Inquisitor Inoue Chikugo no Kami Masashige, Spin Doctor of the Tokugawa *Bakufu*," 27.

yashiki 切支丹屋敷, built in Koishikawa 小石川 in Edo in 1646.⁷⁶¹ Boxer questions the efficacy of Inoue's approach, noting that many apostate missionaries and *dōjuku* revoked their apostasy and were consequently executed as common criminals (by decapitation).⁷⁶² He goes so far as to state that the majority of high ranking apostates eventually 'revoked their apostasy...and returned to the Faith.'⁷⁶³ In contrast, Elisonas writes that the office and its practices proved so effective that 'there were practically no Christians left by the 1660s.'⁷⁶⁴ In 1665, all domains were required to establish their own offices of religious investigation, known as *shūmon bugyō* 宗門奉行.⁷⁶⁵ Under Iemitsu's successor, Ietsuna 家綱 (1641-1680CE), these offices were made responsible for compiling the aforementioned local registers that followed temple certification. The registers (*shūmon ninbetsu aratame chō* 宗門人別改帳)⁷⁶⁶ classified members according to their religious membership,⁷⁶⁷ but also recorded demographic information.⁷⁶⁸ From 1680, following the succession of the fifth

⁷⁶¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 391-392. On the *Kirishitan yashiki*, see: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 477-480; Mayama, *Kirishitan yashiki kenkyū*; Yamamoto, *Edo Kirishitan yashiki no shiseki*; Kubota Meiji, *Kirishitan yashiki monogatari*. Prior to this, other prisons had housed captured *Kirishitan*. Contemporaneous descriptions of these prisons are found in: *A short description of the Great and Terrible Martyrdoms which took place in Japan in the year 1622*, page numbers not given; Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 22-23.

⁷⁶² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 392-393.

⁷⁶³ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁴ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 370.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid. Shimizu provides a detailed discussion of the development and workings of these offices. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 205-225. The position of *shūmon bugyō* was also known as *Kirishitan bugyō* 切支丹奉行.

⁷⁶⁶ Also referred to as the *shūshi ninbetsu chō* 宗旨人別改帳. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 225-232. These registers had numerous alternative names some of which are explored in: Matsūra "Shihai keitai to shūmon aratamechō hyōdaimei," 1-19.

⁷⁶⁷ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 370.

⁷⁶⁸ See: Imamura, "Kinsei shoki shūmon ninbetsu aratame no tenkai ni tsuite," 53-108; Cornell and Hayami, "The Shumon Aratame Cho: Japan's Population Registers," 311-328.

shogun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (1646-1709CE), these offices were also required to compile registers (*Kirishitan ruizoku chō* キリシタン類族帳) concerned solely with recording data on apostate *Kirishitan* and their descendants.⁷⁶⁹

The need to discredit Christianity led to a focus on attacking Christian theology to support the *bakufu*'s stance that the missionaries were a fifth column, and to illustrate the subversive, heretical and undesirous nature of Christian doctrine. Apostates confirmed the subversive nature of Christianity, admitting that:

it is no sin to kill a heathen who is hostile to the Creator...but on the contrary it is a service rendered to Heaven.⁷⁷⁰

The 1630s saw an increase in anti-*Kirishitan* publications. The persecutors required greater knowledge of Christianity to question suspects and increase the efficacy of the persecution.⁷⁷¹ Publications also aided the *bakufu* in creating a system of loyalty and obligation, and through diverting 'anxieties to the outside reinforced the factors of homogeneity...already strong within Japan.'⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁹ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi*, 228-232.

⁷⁷⁰ Admission of apostate missionary Guiseppe Chiara (1602-1685), given the name Okamoto Sanemon 岡本三右衛門 following apostasy, quoted in: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 394.

⁷⁷¹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 203.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, 212.

In 1636, the *Kengiroku* 顯偽録⁷⁷³ was compiled by Ferreira and his Japanese editors.⁷⁷⁴ Cieslik describes the text as a Confucian refutation of Catholicism.⁷⁷⁵ The text directly describes Christianity as a political threat. Following a discussion on original sin and Christian ethical conduct, it states:

They make fabrication their teachings' base; their plot is to spread disturbance throughout the land and to pervert society.⁷⁷⁶

Another example from the text is the description of tithing as 'a pretext for crude agglomeration of domains.'⁷⁷⁷ The *Kirishitan Monogatari* 吉利支丹物語, published two years later, is replete with evidence of the heresy and foolishness of the *Kirishitan* and their doctrine, which act as the text's primary focus. One chapter is devoted to the theme of Japan's political subjugation. Therein is the story of an ex-*Iruman* turned Buddhist monk who revealed to the court that the *Kirishitan* planned to subjugate Japan through the diffusion of their religion.⁷⁷⁸ Finally, whilst the majority of Suzuki Shōsan's 鈴木正三 (1579-

⁷⁷³ English translation in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 294-318. Japanese version in: Masamune, *Myōtei mondō, Ha Daiusu, Kengiroku*, 5-15. A brief description is provided in: Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 11-15.

⁷⁷⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 203. There are some issues with authorship and compilation. Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 36-38.

⁷⁷⁵ Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 38-39.

⁷⁷⁶ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 302.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 355-356.

1655CE) *Ha Kirishitan* 破吉利支丹⁷⁷⁹ (written between 1642 and 1645, published in 1662) sought to refute Christian doctrine from a Buddhist standpoint, it also demarks the *Kirishitan* as a political threat concluding that the missionaries wished to annex Japan and delude its people.⁷⁸⁰ Like the *Bateren tsuihō no fumi*, these texts provided both religious and political justification for the rejection of Christianity, and aided in the building of a “national theology” used to support the *bakufu*’s position. In providing an intellectual challenge to Christianity, these works became a tool for the persecutors. Furthermore, these texts all illustrated support for the *bakufu* position, namely that the *Kirishitan* sought to subjugate Japan. Such support allowed the *bakufu* to further strengthen its power, through a continued focus on the threat of once internal, but now more or less external elements.

The *shūmon aratame yaku* was only half of the system instituted by Iemitsu, the pinnacle of internal anti-*Kirishitan* policy under which all other aspects of the persecution were merged and systematized. Elisonas writes:

Toward the inside, the bakufu asserted its supremacy by making the scrutiny of all possible traces of Christianity an instrument of social control throughout the country.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁹ English translation in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 377-389. Japanese version in: Ebisawa ed. “Ha Kirishitan,” 450-457. A description is included in: Anesaki, “Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” 6-7.

⁷⁸⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 230, 387.

⁷⁸¹ Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” 369.

Interactions with other nations had always affected policy and contributed to the genesis of anti-*Kirishitan* decrees, and since Hidetada's *nikō seigen rei* foreign and anti-*Kirishitan* policy were explicitly linked. In 1623, the English closed their trading post and left Japan, due to their inability to turn a profit following the growing success of the Dutch who held the higher market share, and the lack of market for English goods.⁷⁸² The Thirty Years' War in Europe also contributed, affecting the amount of English trade and resulting in an overspill of poor Anglo-Dutch relations into the Japanese public sphere.⁷⁸³ The English and Dutch had cooperated for mutual benefit establishing the Anglo-Dutch Defence Fleet in 1619 which sought to combat Iberian interests, however, the treaty of defence between the English and Dutch East India Companies ended in 1623 inconclusively.⁷⁸⁴ The following year the Japanese severed relations with the Spanish.⁷⁸⁵ For Boxer, this was the direct result of the capture of Zuñiga and Flores which convinced the *bakufu* that Manilla would never withdraw support for the religious orders.⁷⁸⁶ However, the decision was also influenced by the Spanish refusal to relinquish their monopoly on trans-Pacific trade and the associated inability of the *bakufu* to open trade with Mexico.⁷⁸⁷ The Dutch cemented their position in

⁷⁸² Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 13; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 10.

⁷⁸³ Puga, *The British Presence in Macau, 1635-1793*, 18.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid; Poot, *Crucial years in Anglo-Dutch relations (1625-1642): The political and diplomatic contacts*, 84; Gaastra, "War, Competition and Collaboration: Relations Between the English and Dutch East India Companies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 52.

⁷⁸⁵ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 13; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 317.

⁷⁸⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 367.

⁷⁸⁷ Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance, Book One*, 36.

East Asia the same year through the occupation of Taiwan, and an informal agreement to trade with Chinese merchants there which allowed them to act as middle men in Sino-Japanese trade.⁷⁸⁸ The *bakufu* took further measures to centralize trade and from 1631 required all traders to possess an additional guarantee issued by the *rōjū* 老中 (the shogun's council of elders), alongside *shuinjō*.⁷⁸⁹ Furthermore, trade permits were restricted to a group of seven families with particular ties to the Tokugawa.⁷⁹⁰

The tightening of controls on trade led from 1633 to the issuance of a series of edicts⁷⁹¹ commonly known as the *Sakoku rei* 鎖国令 (more appropriately termed *kaikin rei* 海禁令)⁷⁹² which provided a new set of trade regulations and restrictions.⁷⁹³ Michael Laver views the 1635 edict⁷⁹⁴ as the start of the first definitive version of these laws, due to it being the first to outline punishments for non-compliance and the first to contain the

⁷⁸⁸ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 10; Hiradoshi Shihensan linkai ed., *Daikōkaijida no bōkenshatachi*, 135-138, 142-143. On the Dutch presence in Taiwan, see: Chiu, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662*; Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, 15-20; Wills, Jr. "The Seventeenth-Century Transformation: Taiwan Under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime," 84-106; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier: 1600-1800*, 47-90.

⁷⁸⁹ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 75.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ "Edict" should be taken as a loose description, the documents were in fact 'letters of instruction to provincial officers directing them how to carry out the policy of the central government.' Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 36.

⁷⁹² *Kaikin rei* was the term used contemporaneously. The term *sakoku* entered Japanese as the result of Shizuki Tadao's 志筑忠雄 (1760-1806CE) 1801 translation of Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*. Gunn, *First Globalization*, 151. The term *sakoku* often translated as "national isolation" or "closed country" is misleading, suggesting that Japan was completely closed to foreign relations. Rather under *sakoku* policy Japan maintained relations with Ezo 蝦夷, Ryūkyū 琉球, Korea, China and the Netherlands. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 187-188.

⁷⁹³ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 1, 14-17.

⁷⁹⁴ An English translation is contained in: Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 16-17. Boxer includes a translation of the 1636 edict, which illustrates a further hardening and expansion of the law in: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 439-440. Ebisawa offers a comparison between all the *Sakoku* edicts dated; 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636 and 1639. Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanishi*, 319-332.

signatures of all *bakufu* councillors, illustrating its unanimous acceptance.⁷⁹⁵ The law banned Japanese overseas travel and the return of Japanese from abroad under punishment of death (ending the *shuinsen* system), proscribed Christianity, offered remuneration for informants, and outlined regulations for trade and purchasing commodities.⁷⁹⁶ The 1636 edict includes further injunctions outlining the exile of the offspring of foreigners and families with adopted foreign children.⁷⁹⁷ In the same year, the Portuguese were confined to the man-made island of Dejima 出島⁷⁹⁸ in Nagasaki, where they were guarded and rigorously searched in line with the edicts, as an attempt to find potentially hidden missionaries or Christian contraband.⁷⁹⁹ Finally, in mid-1639, relations with the Portuguese were terminated.⁸⁰⁰ The Dutch were moved from Hirado to Dejima in

⁷⁹⁵ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 14.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 439. Initially 287 children of Iberian ancestry and their mothers were sent to Macau. By 1640, the children and Japanese wives of the Dutch were exiled to Batavia, and eventually the wives and children of the Chinese were also encouraged to return to China (although they were not forced to depart). Once the Dutch were moved to Dejima in 1641, they were no longer permitted to have Japanese wives or mistresses, although prostitutes (*yūjo* 遊女) were sent to the island. Following the work of Asao Naohiro, Laver argues that this ruling resulted from the concept that religion was a hereditary trait and that the authorities did not want foreign or *Kirishitan* descendants to become land holders. The children of prostitutes were brought up as Japanese, and were unlikely to inherit property because they tended to be poor. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 147-158; Wakita and Gay, "Marriage and property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History," 73-99; Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900*; Matsui, "The Debt-Servitude of Prostitutes in Japan during the Edo Period, 1600-1868," 173-186; Kamoto, "Creating spatial hierarches: the *koseki*, early international marriage and intermarriage," 79-92; Shiraishi, *Nagasaki Dejima no yūjo: Kindai e no mado o hiraita onnatachi*.

⁷⁹⁸ Studies include: Katagiri, *Dejima: ibunka kōryū no butai*; Katagiri, *Hirakareta sakoku: Nagasaki Dejima no hito • mono • jōhō*; Yamaguchi, *Nagasaki Dejima*. Nishi, *Nagasaki Dejima Oranda ikoku jijō*; Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853*.

⁷⁹⁹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 368, 439; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 16. The importation of Christian books had been banned under Hidetada. Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 25.

⁸⁰⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 384; Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 331-332.

1641,⁸⁰¹ becoming the only European power to maintain relations with Japan until the mid-19th Century.⁸⁰²

Betraying the Eurocentrism and Christo-centrism at the heart of scholarship on the *Kirishitan* century, Elison writes:

At the root of the Sakoku – “Closed Country” – decision was the problem of the Christian ideology. If the anti-Christian element is taken out of the Closed-Country consciousness, then all its constituents collapse.⁸⁰³

Despite noting the difficulties with Christo-centric and Euro-centric views of the *Kaikin rei*, Jean-Pierre Lehmann concurs stating that ‘*Sakoku*...was originally an essentially anti-Christian edict.’⁸⁰⁴ The edicts contained anti-*Kirishitan* elements in line with the tradition of Hidetada’s *nikō seigen rei*, however, to reduce the *sakoku* edicts to a primarily anti-*Kirishitan* development risks completely decontextualizing them. The injunctions are concerned primarily with non-*Kirishitan* concerns.⁸⁰⁵ For Laver, the *edicts* placed Japan at the centre of its own foreign relations, so that trade could be conducted on Japanese terms.⁸⁰⁶ Every injunction:

⁸⁰¹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 159-181.

⁸⁰² On Dutch-Japanese relations from 1600, see: Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853*.

⁸⁰³ Elison, “The Cross and the Sword: Patterns of Momoyama History,” 81.

⁸⁰⁴ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, 43.

⁸⁰⁵ Laver notes that only five of the seventeen injunctions of the 1635 edict can be understood as anti-*Kirishitan*. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 66-76.

⁸⁰⁶ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 184, 187.

had as its basis some rationale that would allow the bakufu to strengthen its own position relative to the daimyo throughout the country.⁸⁰⁷

Unregulated trade between the Kyushu *daimyō* and foreign powers risked fostering growth which if allowed to continue uncontrolled might threaten the *bakufu*'s power.⁸⁰⁸ This was not an irrational fear; a number of these *daimyō*, who happened to be *Kirishitan* or rule domains where Christianity was popular, had fought against the Tokugawa at the Battle of Sekigahara (*Sekigahara no tatakai* 関ヶ原の戦い) in 1600, and therefore their loyalty remained doubtful.⁸⁰⁹ By limiting foreign traders to the *bakufu* controlled port of Nagasaki and regulating the ability of the Japanese to conduct overseas trade, these *daimyō* were prevented from gaining the financial ability to challenge the Tokugawa locus of power, whilst the *bakufu* gained a monopoly on trade profits.⁸¹⁰ The edicts thereby acted as 'rational measures directed against those elements of society that posed the greatest threat to the shogunal house.'⁸¹¹ This was the perfection of the centralized trade policy begun by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, but was not entirely unique to Japan; Qīng 清 China, Korea and Tonkin pursued similar policies that restricted foreign trade, issued merchant licenses, limited the

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 43; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 185.

⁸⁰⁹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 186.

⁸¹⁰ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 43; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 372-373.

⁸¹¹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 186.

areas from which foreigners could conduct trade, and restricted the movement of their citizens overseas.⁸¹² The *kaikin rei* were therefore a wider East Asian phenomenon.⁸¹³ The anti-*Kirishitan* injunctions within the edicts were not insignificant, but should be understood within the overall theme of trade and as oriented towards attempting to end the smuggling of missionaries.⁸¹⁴ George Sansom drawing on the commentary of Huáng Zōngxī 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) who visited Japan in 1646 concludes:

it is unlikely that fear of Christianity was the compelling reason for [*sakoku* policy]...the underlying reason was the determination of the Tokugawa to secure internal peace and prosperity, and to avoid any foreign involvement likely to jeopardize those aims...the measures they took were typical of Confucian China, which was always isolationist and preoccupied with internal security...⁸¹⁵

⁸¹² Ibid., 184-186, 188-189. On trends in Chinese and Korean trade, see: Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*; Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*; Schottenhammer ed., *The East Asian Maritime World 1400-1800: Its Fabrics of Power and Dynamics of Exchanges*; Zhuang, *Tea, Silver, Opium and War: The International Tea Trade and Western Commercial Expansion into China in 1740-1840*; Edwards, "The Old Canton System of Foreign Trade," 360-378; Lin and Zelin eds., *Merchant Communities in Asia, 1600-1980*; Robinson, "Shaping Maritime East Asia in the 15th and 16th Centuries through Chosŏn Korea," 185-210.

⁸¹³ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 188-189.

⁸¹⁴ Injunctions prescribing the searching and guarding of ships, and outlining rewards for informants, point to ongoing issues pertaining to the link between foreign trade and the smuggling of missionaries and Christian goods. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 66-76.

⁸¹⁵ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 44.

The fifth and final *sakoku* edict of 1639, in which the Portuguese were expelled from Japan,⁸¹⁶ is more explicitly linked to anti-*Kirishitan* persecution. Three primary reasons for the expulsion were given; the smuggling of missionaries, the sending of supplies to missionaries, and the role of these missionaries and supplies in fomenting incidents such as the Shimabara Rebellion (*Shimabara no ran* 島原の乱).⁸¹⁷ The Shimabara Rebellion broke out in the Shimabara 島原 and Amakusa 天草 areas of Kyushu in 1637,⁸¹⁸ as a result of harsh taxation levelled by the local *daimyō*, Matsukura Katsuie 松倉勝家,⁸¹⁹ and famine caused by successive crop failures exacerbated by the limited ability of Japanese vessels to transport food supplies to the affected areas.⁸²⁰ The rebellion was not the first outpouring of discontent; in the early 1630s there were numerous peasant protests,⁸²¹ however, to their detriment the events in Shimabara and Amakusa took the form of the *ikki* 一揆 of recent memory.⁸²² Although some *ikki* had been linked to religious organizations, *ikki* were not inherently religious.⁸²³ Nevertheless, due to its location many *Kirishitan* were involved

⁸¹⁶ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 331-332; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 384; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 131-132.

⁸¹⁷ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanshi*, 331-332; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 384.

⁸¹⁸ Harrington, "Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638)," 381-382. See also: Clements, *Christ's Samurai: The True Story of the Shimabara Rebellion*; Kanda, *Shimabara no ran: Kirishitan shinkō to busō hōki*; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 529-533. An overview is provided in: Kōdansha Sōgō Hensankyoku ed., *Bijuaru Shūkan Nihon no Kassen* 49, Masuda Shirō Tokisada to Shimabara no Ran.

⁸¹⁹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 129.

⁸²⁰ Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 110-112; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no Kirishitan*, 27-28.

⁸²¹ Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 111. Geoffrey Parker notes forty revolts (*hōki* 蜂起) and two hundred peasant uprisings (*hyakushō ikki* 百姓一揆) between 1590 and 1642. Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered," 1053-1054.

⁸²² Kitagawa, "Japanese Religion," 323.

⁸²³ Hall, "Japan's Sixteenth-Century Revolution," 10-16.

in the revolt,⁸²⁴ causing the *bakufu* and contemporaneous chroniclers to view it primarily as a *Kirishitan ikki* キリシタン一揆.⁸²⁵ The event confirmed *bakufu* suspicions about the rebellious, military designs of the *Kirishitan* and Iberian nations. Moreover, it confirmed the parallels between the *Kirishitan* and the *Ikkō ikki* outlined by Hideyoshi at the beginning of national anti-*Kirishitan* policy. The failure of local attempts to put down the rebellion which may have involved up to 80% of the local population⁸²⁶ resulted in a huge response from the *bakufu*, involving some 120,000 soldiers who besieged the rebel's stronghold, Hara Castle (*Hara jō* 原城), from both land and sea.⁸²⁷ *Bakufu* victory was achieved in ninety days in early 1638 resulting in the deaths of a large portion of the rebel faction, the exile and eventual execution of Katsuie, and the confiscation of all lands held by *daimyō* suspected of supporting the rebellion.⁸²⁸ There was no evidence of direct or indirect Portuguese involvement in the rebellion; however, the *bakufu* chose to view them as directly

⁸²⁴ Harrington, "Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638)," 381.

⁸²⁵ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 132-133; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 531-532. For *Kirishitan* views on the rebellion see the mythical and folkloric accounts recorded in: Tani, *Kirishitan densetsu hyakuwa*, 96-108.

⁸²⁶ Harrington argues that the rebels numbered around 27,000 including women and children. Harrington, "Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638)," 381. Sansom provides a more conservative estimate of 20,000 rebels. Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 38. Boxer suggests that the most accurate figures corroborated by multiple contemporaneous sources are 37,000 rebels, 15,000 of which were men of fighting age and 200 of which were *rōnin*. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 379.

⁸²⁷ Harrington, "Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638)," 381.

⁸²⁸ Harrington estimates between 20,000 and 37,000 dead excluding women and children. Harrington, "Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638)," 381. Sansom estimates more than 10,000. Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 38. Anesaki believes the number may have reached 40,000. Anesaki, "Prosecution of *Kirishitan* after the Shimabara Insurrection," 293. Kataoka provides the figure of 14,000 rebel deaths of a total of 27,000, but elsewhere notes 37,000 deaths. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 532-533; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no Kirishitan*, 28. Boxer argues that besides deserters and a single survivor all the rebels, women and children were massacred, which would equate to 37,000 deaths given his figures. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 382. On the defeat of the rebels refer also to the work of Laver who provides the estimate of 35,000 deaths. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 130-131.

involved.⁸²⁹ It was simply incomprehensible that a rebellion of this magnitude could arise without foreign support.⁸³⁰ Similarly, whilst *Kirishitan* were involved in the rebellion, affirming that the rebellion was primarily of a *Kirishitan* character confuses *bakufu* perceptions with historical reality.⁸³¹ Although *Kirishitan* grievances likely played a part in the motivation of some of the rebels,⁸³² the revolt was not a religious uprising.⁸³³ This does not mean that the *bakufu*'s perception was groundless; the rebels used banners with *Kirishitan* inscriptions, invoked holy names, and announced their faith openly.⁸³⁴ Moreover, the reports the *bakufu* received attested to a religious rather than economic origin.⁸³⁵

Like all political developments, the Shimabara Rebellion was not the sole cause of the expulsion of the Portuguese or the establishment of the *shūmon aratame yaku* which arose in its wake. As noted the *shūmon aratame yaku* was the culmination of over three decades of anti-*Kirishitan* policy, and whilst the rebellion reaffirmed the need to expunge

⁸²⁹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 132.

⁸³⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 383.

⁸³¹ Several scholars argue or accept that the rebellion was primarily *Kirishitan* in nature. Storry, *A History of Modern Japan*, 63-64; Kanda, *Shimabara no ran*, 46-60; Yoshimura, *Amakusa Shirō no shōtai: Shimabara • Amakusa no ran o yominaosu*; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 91-92; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 375-382.

⁸³² Wright, *The Jesuits*, 120-121. See also, the account of one of the rebels Watanabe Kozaemon 渡辺小左衛門 in: Tsuruta, "Shimabara no ran ni okeru Watanabe Kozaemon kuchigaki," 99-105.

⁸³³ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 3, 38.

⁸³⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 378.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 380. The *Kirishitan Monogatari* notes the economic and *Kirishitan* nature of the rebellion stating:

In a domain designed to yield 60,000 *koku* of rice he [Matsukura] made his own land survey, arbitrarily setting the yield at 120,000 *koku* and taking from the peasants fifty or sixty percent of this estimate, being inordinately greedy...They [the Rebels] had *Kirishitan* sermons preached, and these incited the religionists into a state of blind fanaticism.

Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 363.

Japan of Christianity, it spurred only the centralization and systematization of pre-existent institutions. Since 1615, Portuguese trade had been subjected to increasing measures of control.⁸³⁶ In the late 1620s Portuguese trade was temporarily banned as both parties in the Iberian Union were blamed for altercations between the Spanish and *shuinsen* in the South China Sea.⁸³⁷ By the mid-1630s, the Dutch were outcompeting the Portuguese and blockading their ports, and since 1618 Portuguese traders had switched to using smaller and more numerous vessels in an attempt to avoid Dutch piracy.⁸³⁸ In 1634, of all Japan's trade partners the Portuguese imported the least amount of raw silk (only 200 *picols*),⁸³⁹ compared to 1,000 from China and Tonkin respectively, 700 from Ryūkyū, 640 from the Dutch and 500 from Cochinchina.⁸⁴⁰ This was partially the result of an attempt on the part of the Portuguese to diversify imports in order to circumvent the low prices set by the *itowappu* system.⁸⁴¹ Alongside this the Dutch had proven their loyalty during the Shimabara Rebellion by dispatching ships at the order of the *bakufu* to assist with the siege.⁸⁴² By 1617, Portuguese traders had established a practice of borrowing silver bullion from Japan in

⁸³⁶ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 133.

⁸³⁷ Dutch trade had also been temporarily stopped due to Dutch-Japanese altercations on Taiwan. Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754*, 60; Boxer, "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago (1630-1639)," 36.

⁸³⁸ Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 59; Boxer, "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago (1630-1639)," 45-46, 59.

⁸³⁹ One *picol* is equivalent to approximately 60.4 kilograms or 133.3 pounds. Souza, "Opium and the Company: Maritime Trade and Imperial Finances on Java, 1684-1796," 122, n. 26.

⁸⁴⁰ Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 60-61.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

⁸⁴² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 381; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 134-135.

order to trade for silk in China, owing a total of 700,000 taels (C. *liǎng* 兩, J. *ryō* 両)⁸⁴³ by 1639.⁸⁴⁴ Several merchants were bankrupted by the demands of Japanese creditors to repay their debts.⁸⁴⁵ Nevertheless, debt, reduced imports, and the end of reliance on Portuguese trade were not reasons for expulsion. To the contrary, Portuguese trade and the system of loans were profitable for Japanese officials,⁸⁴⁶ however, all of Japan's foreign trade partners offered something that the Portuguese could not: trade divorced from religion.⁸⁴⁷ A letter discovered shortly after the resumption of Portuguese trade following its embargo between 1628 and 1630, implicated the Portuguese in aiding and concealing missionaries.⁸⁴⁸ In the late 1630s, the *bakufu* still suspected that they were smuggling missionaries.⁸⁴⁹ Consequently, the Macanese authorities aware of their precarious situation strenuously attempted to end the entry of missionaries into Japan due to the risks it posed to trade.⁸⁵⁰ Simultaneously the Japanese authorities were implying to the Dutch that the expulsion of the Portuguese was a possibility, and checked if they could supply the

⁸⁴³ One *ryō* was approximately 16 grams of metal (four *monme* 匁 three *bu* 分), whereas one tael was equivalent to 37.8 grams of silver. Inoue and Nakamura, *Fukutake Kogo Jiten*, 1088; Zheng, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, xii. Later one gold *ryō* was equivalent to approximately 60 *monme* of silver (225 grams). Cullen, *A History of Japan, 1582-1941: Internal and External Worlds*, 76; Sawada, "Financial Difficulties of The Edo Bakufu," 310, n. 7.

⁸⁴⁴ 97,000 taels were owed directly by the city of Macau. Boxer, "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago (1630-1639)," 64-75. George Bryan Souza offers a more conservative figure of somewhere between 200,000 and 600,000 taels. Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 60-61.

⁸⁴⁵ Boxer, "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago (1630-1639)," 64-75.

⁸⁴⁶ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 134; Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 62-63.

⁸⁴⁷ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 74.

⁸⁴⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 369.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 383.

⁸⁵⁰ Boxer, "The Swan Song of the Portuguese in Japan, 1635-39," 4-11; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 369.

necessary amount of goods.⁸⁵¹ The Macanese authorities with the support of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy petitioned Manila, Goa, King Felipe IV of Spain, and Pope Urban VIII to forbid the sending of missionaries to Japan.⁸⁵² However, the effect was limited because the Spanish authorities in Manila were unable or unwilling to control missionaries seeking entry to Japan.⁸⁵³ Smuggled missionaries from Manila were generally captured on arrival, although a number managed to evade capture,⁸⁵⁴ and therefore, in spite of both Macanese attempts to dissuade missionaries from entering Japan, and the persecution, missionaries continued to arrive on Japan's shores.⁸⁵⁵ For the persecution to be successful, the only viable solution therefore became to ban the Portuguese.⁸⁵⁶ The Shimabara Rebellion highlighted pre-existent issues and failures in the *bakufu's* attempts to control both trade and subversive aspects of society, which combined with repeated Dutch attacks on the Portuguese at Iemitsu's court,⁸⁵⁷ made the creation of a more effective policy necessary.

The expulsion of the Portuguese and the establishment of the *shūmon aratame yaku* resulted in the end of the *Kirishitan* Century when the last missionary, Konishi Mancio, was martyred in 1644. It is possible that some missionaries were still present in the country as three Franciscans present in the 1630s remain unaccounted for, however, it is likely that

⁸⁵¹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 133.

⁸⁵² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 383.

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 370.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 390-393.

⁸⁵⁵ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 133-134.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., 139-140; Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 75.

they died of natural causes or martyrdom.⁸⁵⁸ As a result of the persecutions, the *Kirishitan* had been driven completely underground, they existed either in jail, as martyrs, as apostates or professing to Christianity in secret.⁸⁵⁹ Somewhere between 20,000 and 50,000 managed to remain in hiding until the end of the Edo Period.⁸⁶⁰ Persecution continued throughout, with periodic *kuzure* 崩れ (crumblings) in which groups of *senpuku Kirishitan* 潜伏キリシタン (hidden *Kirishitan*) were “discovered,” and then arrested, exiled or executed.⁸⁶¹ Peter Nosco argues that the *bakufu* recognized that it couldn’t control the beliefs or thoughts of individuals and knew about the existence of underground groups, however, to publicly recognize their existence would equate to an admission that policy was ineffectual and not being exercised.⁸⁶² He notes that between 1698 and 1789 there were

⁸⁵⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 390. Father Boero refers to records of 6 Jesuits seen alive in Edo in 1644 and 1645, however, these men were eventually caught and imprisoned. Boero, *The Jesuit Martyrs of Japan: A History of the Lives and Martyrdom of Paul Michi, James Chisai, and John Soan de Goto of the Society of Jesus*, 179; Nouët, *The Shogun’s City: A History of Tokyo*, 79.

⁸⁵⁹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 389.

⁸⁶⁰ Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 288.

⁸⁶¹ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 534-550, 575-611; Miyazaki, “Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan,” 15-16. Anesaki and Kazuhiko Takamuro note that the 1657 discovery of *senpuku Kirishitan* and the resultant *kuzure* in Kōri 郡, Ōmura, resulted in the expansion of the anti-*Kirishitan* persecution, the appointment of new inquisition officers both in the domain and nationally, an increase in the size of the police force, and the more stringent enforcement of *fumie*. Anesaki and Takamuro, “The ‘Kori Debacle,’ the Last Stage of the Persecution of Kirishitans in Omura,” 318-321; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 258-259. Hiding was not a new phenomenon, persecuted Buddhist groups entered hiding during the same period, and were discovered and persecuted against periodically. On hidden Buddhist groups (*Kakure nenbutsu* 隠れ念仏 or *Kakushi nenbutsu* 隠し念仏), see: Yonemura, *Junkyō to minshū: Kakure nenbutsukō*; Chilson, “Buddhists under Cover: Why a Secretive Shinshū Society Remains Hidden Today,” 18-28; Chiba, “Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Early Modern Shinshū: Kakushi Nenbutsu and Kakure Nenbutsu,” 463-496.

⁸⁶² Nosco, “Secrecy and Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” 21-24.

no instances of persecution.⁸⁶³ For Nosco, this inaction resulted from Christianity no longer being perceived as a threat, a system that depended on informants and self-incrimination, and economic interests.⁸⁶⁴ In support of Nosco's conclusion, Shigeo Nakazono informed me that the hidden *Kirishitan* on Ikitsuki practised their faith more or less openly throughout the period of hiding.⁸⁶⁵ The Portuguese attempted to reopen relations sending envoys in 1640 and 1647, however, the members of the first envoy were executed, and the second was refused rights to resume trade on the basis that the Portuguese would continue to smuggle and support missionaries.⁸⁶⁶ The national *shūmon aratame yaku* was abolished in 1792,⁸⁶⁷ however persecution continued through the first three quarters of the 19th Century until the entirety of its apparatus was dismantled in 1873.⁸⁶⁸

Conclusions

The Jesuits arrived in a Japan in which centre-periphery distinctions had collapsed. The old centres of power existed only by name. The new "centres" of power, the domains and their rulers, of which only 12 were descended from traditional rulers (the *shugo* 守

⁸⁶³ Ibid., 22. This is not necessarily true, Endō Shūsaku for instance records persecutions between 1716 and 1736 resulting in several hundred *Kirishitan* deaths in Yonekawa 米川|. Endō, *Kirishitan Jidai – Junkyō to kikyō no rekishi*, 82.

⁸⁶⁴ Nosco, "Keeping the faith: *bakuhatsu* policy towards religions in seventeenth century Japan," 148, 151.

⁸⁶⁵ Shigeo Nakazono, interview by James Morris, August 11, 2015.

⁸⁶⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 385-389; Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 138-139.

⁸⁶⁷ Nosco, "Secrecy and Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 22.

⁸⁶⁸ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 4.

護),⁸⁶⁹ did not provide an alternative centre, they themselves were peripheral, facing constant war, border changes, risks of usurpation, and the limited development of political and economic structures. In such a system, where the centres were also peripheries, the Jesuits could never move beyond a peripheral position. In the previously quoted words of Elison:

The history of Christianity in Japan was inseparably tied to the fates of a Country at War.⁸⁷⁰

Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and the early Tokugawa shogun created new centres, new political and economic structures, and new systems of power. Within these new centres the missionaries were for a time essential in mediating Iberian trade and even advised at court. Nevertheless, even though *Sengoku* ended, their position remained peripheral. They were still subject to the favour or lack thereof of both central and local government, and were mostly confined to the geographic periphery of Kyushu. The peripherality of the mission was exacerbated by the missionaries' own political manoeuvres, their offering of an alternative locus of authority, and their inability to adopt anything more than the trivial outward markings of Japanese customs and manners.

⁸⁶⁹ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 26.

⁸⁷⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 21.

Peripherality was to be expected; a new religion could not replace the old religious centre overnight. Yet, the creation of an alternate religious centre posed a threat to the *bakufu's* new centre of power which warranted the destruction of Christianity. The persecution of Christianity was politically motivated; Christianity was a threat to the creation and consolidation of power. Numerous incidents and scandals as well as the actions of the missionaries appeared to confirm their political aspirations and military desires. Although Hideyoshi was either unable or unwilling to pursue his restrictions to their ultimate end, he set the precedent for the Tokugawa policy which was to follow him. The Tokugawa *bakufu* shared the same overriding political concerns as Hideyoshi, their persecutions like that of their predecessor had long term political considerations at the centre of their genesis. Nevertheless, for both the Tokugawa and the Toyotomi the intensity of the anti-*Kirishitan* persecution was intimately linked to temporal ruling class incidents and controversies which heralded each purge.

Traditional approaches to the *Kirishitan* Century persecutions have been marked by both Euro and Christo-centrism. Lehmann notes:

To insist...on the persecution of Christians and the proscription of their faith is perhaps to perceive Japanese history from an excessively Europocentric point of view, for the simple reason that it was not only Christians who suffered.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁷¹ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, 56.

In many ways, this is difficult to avoid given the subject matter, however, it is important to note that the *bakufu* attempted to control all secular and religious aspects of society which might prove a threat to the central authority. Anti-*Kirishitan* persecution was part of wider trends in religious policy and political centralization; Nobunaga had suppressed the *Ikkō Ikkī*⁸⁷² and Hideyoshi had crushed Buddhist sectarians and disarmed the Buddhist sects.⁸⁷³ Ieyasu's *Bateren tsuihō no fumi* started to develop *shinkoku shisō* and to build a "national theology". Originally it was thought to have been appended with a set of fifteen rules to guide the Buddhist priesthood in the implementation of the ruling; the *Gojōmoku Shūmon Danna Ukeai no Okite* 御条目宗門檀那請合之掟.⁸⁷⁴ However, due to the inclusion of other religious enemies: the Nichiren Buddhist (*Nichiren shū* 日蓮宗) *Fujufuse* 不受不施 and *Hidenshū* 悲田宗 banned from 1669 and 1691 respectively, the document is now considered to be from the early 18th Century.⁸⁷⁵ The document outlined the obligations of parishioners and the grounds on which temple registration could be refused, and thereby standardized the *terauke seido* system.⁸⁷⁶ Although the *Gojōmoku Shūmon Danna Ukeai no Okite* cannot be dated to Ieyasu's reign, he had built upon his predecessors' attempts to

⁸⁷² Elison, "The Cross and the Sword: Patterns of Momoyama History," 71-74.

⁸⁷³ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 85-87, 104.

⁸⁷⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 318-319; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed, 1542-1742*, 95. The Japanese text and English translation are available in: Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., "Decree of the Inquisition against Evil Religions."

⁸⁷⁵ Tamamuro, "Local Society and the Temple-Parishioner Relationship within the Bakufu's Governance Structure," 265-266; Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 221-222; Okada, "Kantsū Jōruri 'Daikyōji Mukashigoyomi' ni tsuite: igai na ketsumatsu ni miru Chikamatsu no sakui," 82-83.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 265-269.

control Buddhism with a series of Temple Laws (*jiin hatto* 寺院法度) that negated temple extraterritoriality, removed the military elements of Buddhism, prescribed doctrinal research, and obligated the priesthood to pray for the nation's peace and prosperity.⁸⁷⁷ Similarly, under Iemitsu and the retired Hidetada the *bakufu* sought to strengthen its control over Buddhism during the aforementioned *shie chokkyo jiken* when it stripped 150 clerics of their rank. More generally, anti-*Kirishitan* policy should be understood within the scope of wider political changes seeking to centralize power and control political threats. Joseph M. Kitagawa argues that the Tokugawa created a comprehensive six-fold order; with political, social, legal, philosophical, religious and moral aspects, all of which placed the *bakufu* in the pivotal position.⁸⁷⁸ The anti-*Kirishitan* persecutions must be viewed alongside religious policy and wider political developments seeking to secure and centralize power, as one amongst many facets of *bakufu* policy.

Japan's political context limited both mission and conversion. At first, the missionaries could only preach in areas where they held at least nominally the favour of the *daimyō*, later their movements were restricted by the persecutions. This was not only a matter of the geographic freedom to preach; domainal leadership changed, the position of *daimyō* vis-à-vis Christianity changed, and the political context changed throughout the *Kirishitan* Century. The missionaries (and therefore conversion) were restricted completely by the context of 16th and 17th Century Japan. Christianity could only progress in so far as

⁸⁷⁷ Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan*, 50-51.

⁸⁷⁸ Kitagawa, "Japanese Religion," 322.

the political context would allow. Notwithstanding this, the Japanese political context was only one context at play; the mission itself, its approach and practical elements constitute other contexts through which the *Kirishitan* Century and conversion therein must also be explored. Moreover, it must be noted that whilst modern scholars may exercise hindsight in their explorations of the period, the missionaries and their converts hoped that the persecutions would be little more than a temporary stumbling block.

In the next chapter, the context and circumstances of the mission as an enterprise are explored. It is argued that the mission and conversion were not only influenced by Japan's political context, but by the resources available to the missionaries. The chapter describes issues associated with limited manpower, their geographic spread and language skills, the availability of missionary publications, and the mission's isolation from Europe and other Asian missions. It argues that these resource-based limitations shaped conversion and post-conversion belief and practice.

Chapter Three

The Context and Circumstances of the Mission

This chapter explores the context and circumstances of the Jesuit mission, focusing on factors that limited the missionaries and their work. These factors were linked to the number of personnel, their language capabilities, their geographic spread, the mission's income and resources, and the mission's isolation. The chapter explores these limitations alongside reforms that sought to address them instated by Alessandro Valignano and other mission staff. The chapter claims that whilst such reforms reduced the mission's limitations, they were ultimately insufficient, and therefore the issues which existed at the genesis of the mission were also present (and indeed prevalent) at its end. It is argued that these limitations shaped the work and nature of conversion, and that due to these limitations most converts likely lacked anything more than a basic knowledge of Christianity.

The Limitations of Personnel

At the mission's peak in 1614 there were 115 or 116 Jesuits in Japan (62 were priests),⁸⁷⁹ 10 Franciscans, 9 Dominicans, 3 Augustinians, and 7 secular priests.⁸⁸⁰ The number of Jesuits had decreased since 1590 when there were a total of 140; 47 priests and 93 *iruman*.⁸⁸¹ Although there was a small decrease in the number of priests since 1610 (7 in total) their number had generally grown, rather the overall decline in personnel was caused by the loss of *iruman*, whose numbers had decreased by 30 since 1590.⁸⁸² This decline was likely due to Hideyoshi's persecutions which alongside war and famine led to the loss of some 40,000 *Kirishitan* through apostasy and death between 1590 and 1592 in Bungo alone.⁸⁸³ It was also related to the promotion and dismissal of *iruman*; prior to 1614 seven became secular priests and seven became Jesuit fathers,⁸⁸⁴ whilst Valignano had dismissed five unsuitable novices in 1590.⁸⁸⁵ Despite all this, the 1614 figures still reflect a highpoint in the mission which for its first 20 years had no more than a combined total of 12

⁸⁷⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 2; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 321. The nationalities of the Padres until 1603 are recorded in: Takahashi, *Iezusukai no sekai senryaku*, 81.

⁸⁸⁰ Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 12. A total of 318 missionaries (representing these Orders) came to Japan throughout the period. Gonoï, *Nihon Kirishitanshi no kenkyū*, 344-363.

⁸⁸¹ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39. A letter sent from Nagasaki to Rome (signed but not composed by Valignano) records 142 members of the Society in 1591, alongside more than 180 *dōjuku*, and 300 servants and Church caretakers of which more than 150 remained following Hideyoshi's persecution. Quoted in: Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 144. Gonoï notes a total of 112 *iruman* over the *Kirishitan* Century. Gonoï, *Nihon Kirishitanshi no kenkyū*, 366-373.

⁸⁸² Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39.

⁸⁸³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 361.

⁸⁸⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 71; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 322.

⁸⁸⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 166.

missionary staff at any one time, growing rapidly throughout the late 1570s and 1580s to reach a total of 86 trained missionary staff in 1585.⁸⁸⁶

Due to the low numbers of priestly missionary staff the Jesuits relied on non-priestly staff; the aforementioned religious brothers (the *iruman*) consisting of both Europeans and Japanese and numbering 52 or 53 in 1614, the native lay positions of *dōjuku* and *kanbō* 看防,⁸⁸⁷ and servants and caretakers (*komono* 小者).⁸⁸⁸ *Dōjuku* headed the church at “parish” level; preaching, teaching doctrine, conducting communications and prayer meetings,⁸⁸⁹ assisting with translations, taking part in funerals and Mass, baptizing and assisting the sick.⁸⁹⁰ They were not necessarily trained and were not members of the Jesuit Order, but lived and worked alongside the missionaries leading lives astride the secular and religious worlds.⁸⁹¹ There appear to have been two types of *dōjuku*; those who wished to enter the Society as *iruman* or priests, and who therefore pursued training and education, and those

⁸⁸⁶ Takase notes the existence of 4 missionaries in 1552, 12 in 1564, and 11 in 1570. Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39. Takahashi Hirofumi notes 11 in 1555, 7 in 1557, and 15 in 1572. Takahashi, *lezusukai no sekai senryaku*, 13.

⁸⁸⁷ *Kanbō* was originally a Buddhist term used to refer to those who supervised temples in the absence of a priest. Nosco, “Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” 6.

⁸⁸⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 211, 220, 321-322; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 69-70; Nosco, “Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” 4-8; Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 73.

⁸⁸⁹ Explorations and reprints of contemporaneous prayers are included in: Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 113-127; Obara ed., *Kirishitan no Orashiyo*. Contemporaneous and modern *kakure Kirishitan* prayers from Ikitsuki 生月 are included in: Matsumoto, *Ikitsuki no Kirishitan*, 26-66.

⁸⁹⁰ Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 70; Nosco, “Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” 5-8; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 220-225; Harrington, “The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan’s Religious Tradition,” 325-326; Jennes, *A History of the Catholic Church in Japan*, 238; Moriwaki, “Kirishitan ‘dōjuku’ ron: ‘sei’ to ‘zoku’ ni ikita Nihonjin,” 246-247.

⁸⁹¹ Moriwaki, “Kirishitan ‘dōjuku’ ron: ‘sei’ to ‘zoku’ ni ikita Nihonjin,” 247.

who desired only to act as lay catechists.⁸⁹² The *kanbō* taught prayers, read at services and maintained local churches, but unlike the *dōjuku* they did not participate in evangelical work.⁸⁹³ They were usually former Buddhist clergy or village leaders,⁸⁹⁴ and maintained a life more akin to those in their communities.⁸⁹⁵ Neither position was authorized to lead the Eucharist, confession, or confirmation.⁸⁹⁶ They numbered 260 and 170 respectively in 1604.⁸⁹⁷ In the same year the entire Jesuit staff numbered approximately 900.⁸⁹⁸ A large portion of the Jesuit staff were foreign slaves or servants who assisted in menial tasks such as gardening and farming,⁸⁹⁹ this allowed them to limit the impact of limited personnel and stretched finances.

Estimates for the number of converts diverge greatly. Johannes Laures notes that between 1549 and 1639 over a million Japanese were baptized.⁹⁰⁰ Basing his estimations on Schütte's work,⁹⁰¹ M. Antoni J. Üçerler estimates that there were around 100,000 *Kirishitan* by 1579, increasing to 150,000 by 1585, 350,000 by the end of the 16th Century,

⁸⁹² Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 26.

⁸⁹³ Ibid., 26-27; Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 5-8.

⁸⁹⁴ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 28.

⁸⁹⁵ Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 6.

⁸⁹⁶ Harrington, "The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan's Religious Tradition," 325-326; Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 6-7.

⁸⁹⁷ Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 6. Takase estimates 160 *kanbō* in 1604 for 150 Churches having dropped from 170 *kanbō* for over 190 churches in 1603. Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 37-41.

⁸⁹⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 223. Boxer notes that in 1613 the Society was responsible for 534 people excluding household servants and refugees. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 322.

⁸⁹⁹ Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759*, 48.

⁹⁰⁰ Laures, "Die Zahl der Christen und Martyrer im alten Japan," 95.

⁹⁰¹ Schütte, *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonica*, 408-432.

600,000 by 1614 and 800,000 by 1624.⁹⁰² Masaharu Anesaki provides an even more liberal estimation of 750,000 *Kirishitan* by 1605,⁹⁰³ however, more conservative estimates do not estimate the mission reaching such numbers until the 1630s and include within the figure both the dead and apostates.⁹⁰⁴ Basing their estimates on the figures provided by Bishop Luis de Cerqueira (1552-1614) and Provincial Valentim de Carvalho (1560-1631), Boxer, Nosco and Laures all concur that the total number of converts could not have exceeded 300,000 in 1614.⁹⁰⁵ It is impossible to be completely accurate with regards to the number of converts. Grounded in missionary historiography:

a discourse about the expansion of Christendom, spiritual conquests, heroes of worship and heroic deeds of the missionaries...with little consideration of the people...⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰² Üçerler, "The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan," 52.

⁹⁰³ Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, 244, n.1.

⁹⁰⁴ Gonoï, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi*, 129. Conversion continued following the start of persecution, however, the number of *Kirishitan* eventually entered decline. A Jesuit estimation from the early 1620s, gives the figure of 50,000 *Kirishitan* around the area of Nagasaki, suggesting large declines in numbers. *A short description of the Great and Terrible Martyrdoms which took place in Japan in the year 1622*, page numbers not given.

⁹⁰⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 320-321; Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 5; Laures, *The Catholic Church in Japan: A Short History*, 177. Gonoï provides the figure of 370,000 by 1614. Gonoï, *Nihon Kirishitanshi no kenkyū*, 99.

⁹⁰⁶ De Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*, 33. See also: Abe, "What Determined the Content of Missionary Reports? The Jesuit Relations Compared with the Iberian Jesuit Accounts," 69-83.

and colonial hagiographic traditions,⁹⁰⁷ the letters from which conversion figures are garnered sought to inform the Jesuits' European superiors of their progress and achievements.⁹⁰⁸ Following instructions set down by Xavier, the authors tried to edify their readers by omitting the difficulties faced by the mission and giving theological truth precedence.⁹⁰⁹ Numerical success aided in securing greater funding for the mission, and therefore missionary reports tended to provide inflated figures and focused on the names of valuable converts.⁹¹⁰ Gauvin Alexander Bailey notes the importance of balancing Jesuit hagiographic and historiographical texts with non-European sources,⁹¹¹ however, complete Japanese records covering the same time period do not appear to have existed. The 1688 *Kyōto oboegaki* 京都覚書, which collated information from the *ruizoku chō* of 74 domains including the number of known apostates and up to nine generations of their descendants, records 52,838 living and 23,150 dead in that year.⁹¹² Nevertheless, these figures are much too late for estimating the number of converts during the *Kirishitan* Century. In any case, the size of the *Kirishitan* population was significant enough to elicit the political and

⁹⁰⁷ Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France," 323-348.

⁹⁰⁸ De Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry*, 28.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 30-32.

⁹¹⁰ For instance, the first portion of Cabral's May 31st, 1575 letter focuses on the conversion of Ōmura Sumitada and notes therein on several occasions that some 20,000 converts had been made in his domains. Cabral, "Coppie d'une letter escripte du P. François Gabriel Superieur de la Compagnie du nom de Iesus au Iappon," 5-16.

⁹¹⁰ Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 67.

⁹¹¹ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, 13.

⁹¹² Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinsei shi*, 230-231.

legislative changes. Based on scholarly estimations *Kirishitan* constituted between 1.4% and 5% of the population.⁹¹³

Whether liberal or conservative estimates are accepted it cannot be concluded that the *Kirishitan* had much contact with the trained missionary staff. Presuming an equal distribution of missionaries and secular priests to converts, the lowest figure of 300,000 equated to approximately 2,069 converts per missionary or secular priest in 1614, whereas the more liberal figure of 600,000 provided by Üçerler equated to 4,138 converts per missionary or secular priest.⁹¹⁴ Following the exile of 1614, there would have been between 6,383 and 12,766 converts per missionary or secular priest.⁹¹⁵ Whilst these ratios illustrate the limitations associated with the mission's manpower, they are problematic as an equal distribution of missionary staff to converts cannot be assumed. For example, Higashibaba notes that 35,000 were baptized in Ōmura domain in 1574, but that there was only one priest and two *dōjuku* to teach them.⁹¹⁶ Even prior to the persecution some areas lacked contact with the priesthood completely. In Sendai domain, *Kirishitan* arrived perhaps as

⁹¹³ The lower figure was calculated using the estimated population size of 22,000,000 (McEvedy and Jones: 1979, 181) and the lower estimation of 300,000 converts. The higher figure was calculated using the estimated population of 12,300,000 (Farris: 2006, 3-5) and the higher estimation of 600,000 converts. Other estimations for the population at the time range between 15 and 18 million, suggesting that the *Kirishitan* constituted between 1.6% and 4% of the population. Numerous estimations are given in: Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*, 2-5. The higher population estimate of 22,000,000 was taken from: McEvedy and Jones, *Atlas of World Population History*, 181.

⁹¹⁴ Conversion estimates of 300,000 and 600,000 converts (in 1614) have been divided by the number of missionaries and secular priests (145). The estimation excludes the fact that some missionaries were not involved in the work of conversion due to their roles in the Jesuit education system, Takase estimates that up to 18 priests and *iruman* were residents in the Jesuit colleges and residences at any one time. Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 41.

⁹¹⁵ The conversion estimates of 300,000 and 600,000 converts have been divided by the number post-exile missionaries and secular priests in 1614 (47).

⁹¹⁶ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 21.

early as 1558,⁹¹⁷ but the domain lacked a missionary presence until 1611.⁹¹⁸ Similarly, *Kirishitan* were present in Aizu domain (*Aizu han* 会津藩) by 1590, however, no missionaries visited there during the life of *daimyō*, Gamō Ujisato 蒲生氏郷 (1556-1595),⁹¹⁹ who introduced the religion.⁹²⁰ In these areas, Christianity was introduced not by missionaries, but through the migration of individual *Kirishitan* and *Kirishitan daimyō*. Nevertheless, domains where missionaries introduced Christianity were also isolated, for instance no priests visited converts in Yamaguchi 山口 from 1556 to 1576.⁹²¹ Valignano wrote on the issue:

Sometimes eight or ten months pass without their seeing a single father, and when at last they have him to themselves, it is only for a day or two...And often it is a priest who does not understand their language nor they his.⁹²²

⁹¹⁷ This seems unlikely, but is attested to in several works including: Fujisawa Machi Bunka Shinkō Kyōkai and Fujisawa Machi Kyōkuiinkai eds., *Ōkago no Kirishitan to Seitetsu*, 5; Fujisawa Machi ed. *Ōkago no rekishi to bunkazai*; Yajima, “Kyū Date han ni okeru kakure Kirishitan to sono genkyō – Ōkago chiku (gen Iwate ken Higashiiwai gun Fujisawa machi) to Yonekawa chiku (gen Miyagi ken Tome shi Tōwa machi) ni okeru jirei kenkyū,” 149-150; Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*, 225-230; Miyagi Kenshi Hensan linkai ed. *Miyagi kenshi*, vol. 12, *Gakumon Shūkyō*, 556-563; Shitō, *Sendairyō Kirishitan hiwa: hakugai to ryūketsu no ki*, vol. 2, *Suimetsuhen*, 1-11; Tadano, *Michinoku Kirishitan monogatari*, 249-254; Tadano, *Sendai Kirishitanshi*, 9-12. See discussion in: Morris, “The Kirishitan Century in Tōhoku,” 313-323.

⁹¹⁸ Takagi, *Tōhoku no Kirishitan Junkyōchi o Yuku*, 169.

⁹¹⁹ For biographical details, see: Laures, *Kirishitan daimyō*, 44-50. Imamura, *Gamō Ujisato*. Takahashi, *Gamō Ujisato no subete*; Takeda, *Gamō Ujisato: shōnen meishō*; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 100-105.

⁹²⁰ Kroehler and Kroehler, “The Kirishitan of Aizu,” 47-48; Takagi, *Tōhoku no Kirishitan Junkyōchi o Yuku*, 21; Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*, 1-16.

⁹²¹ Oliveira e Costa, “The Brotherhoods (*Confrarias*) and Lay Support for the Early Christian Church in Japan,” 72.

⁹²² Quoted in: Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 21.

The missionary personnel were generally confined to Kyushu. In 1612, 91 of 114 Jesuits were in Kyushu, the majority (77) in Nagasaki and Arima, whilst the remaining 23 Jesuits were spread throughout Kansai and Kanto.⁹²³ *Dōjuku* had a similar geographical spread with 191 located in Kyushu, 161 of which were in Nagasaki and Arima, compared to a total of 59 in Kansai and Kanto.⁹²⁴ Finally, of the seven secular clergy, four were based in Nagasaki.⁹²⁵ The mission's geographic limits were also reflected in the Church's administration. When the mission became a Vice-Province (*jun kanku* 準管区) in 1581, it was divided into three districts (*chiku* 地区), Bungo, Shimo 下 (Kyushu excluding Bungo) and Miyako 都 (the Kansai area).⁹²⁶ 12 Jesuit residences were established in Kyushu, four of which were in the Bungo district, a further five were established in the Miyako district.⁹²⁷ Nevertheless, the three district division was found to be unsuitable, and was later abolished.⁹²⁸ In 1608, Rome made Japan into a Province (*kanku* 管区), however it was not until 1611 that the change took effect in Japan.⁹²⁹ The Province created a new system of districts prior to the outbreak of persecution, but these were not fixed.⁹³⁰ The new system

⁹²³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 321.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹²⁶ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 37-41; Cieslik, "Alessandro Valignano: Pioneer in Adaptation." 4. Cieslik and Ōta include most of southern Japan in the Miyako district including the regions of San'indō 山陰道, San'yōdō 山陽道, and Nankaidō 南海道, and the provinces of Iga 伊賀, Ise 伊勢, Shima 志摩, Owari 尾張, Mino 美濃, and Ōmi 近江. Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 74, 76; Takahashi, *Iezusukai no sekai senryaku*, 105-107. Shimizu includes Yamaguchi in the Miyako district. Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinsei shi*, 36. Expenditure in the three districts is described in: Takahashi, *Iezusukai no sekai senryaku*, 110-113.

⁹²⁷ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 40.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹²⁹ Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance, Book One*, 168.

⁹³⁰ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39.

was influenced by the decline of Christianity in Bungo, its flourishing in Nagasaki, and the expansion of the mission in Honshu (*Honshū* 本州).⁹³¹ It divided the mission into five areas; Nagasaki, Arima, Bungo, Hakata 博多, and Kami 上 (the district covering Honshu).⁹³² Four of these districts were on Kyushu with a total of 23 residences between them.⁹³³ Conversely, the district of Kami which covered the totality of the Honshu mission had only seven residences.⁹³⁴ The focus on Kyushu is reflected in the geographic spread of *Kirishitan* communities.⁹³⁵ The *Kyōto oboegaki* indicates that 71.9% of apostates and their descendants hailed from Kyushu.⁹³⁶ Kansai and Chugoku (*Chūgoku* 中国), where the mission was also long established, accounted for only 1.33% and 6.24% respectively.⁹³⁷

The persecutions exacerbated the problems associated with the limited numbers and spread of personnel. The number of personnel was not only affected by the 1614 exile, but also by martyrdom and apostasy. Boxer provides a minimum estimate of 2,128 martyrs between 1614 and 1650, 71 of which were Europeans,⁹³⁸ and a minimum estimate of priestly apostasies (seven to ten between 1633 and 1643).⁹³⁹ Higashibaba provides a higher figure of approximately 5,000 martyrs noting that most were from the lower classes,⁹⁴⁰

⁹³¹ Ibid.

⁹³² Ibid., 40.

⁹³³ Ibid.

⁹³⁴ Ibid.

⁹³⁵ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinsei shi*, 36.

⁹³⁶ Ibid., 230-231.

⁹³⁷ Ibid., 231.

⁹³⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., 447. Most missionaries chose martyrdom rather than apostasy, see figures in: Gono, *Nihon Kirishitan shi no kenkyū*, 344-363.

⁹⁴⁰ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 154.

whereas Jennes records 2,126.⁹⁴¹ Although the persecution negatively affected the number of personnel prior to the close of the mission, it also hampered their geographic mobility⁹⁴² and forced them into hiding. Quoting a 1629 Dutch source, Boxer writes:

the priests are usually concealed...under the floor boards...others stand all day long in a small space behind the privy...others...between two partitions or behind the wainscoting.⁹⁴³

As persecution progressed the missionaries took to hiding amongst sufferers of leprosy, who were generally avoided by the Japanese and by extension the authorities.⁹⁴⁴ Others such as Ferreira hid in the mountains and on the plains.⁹⁴⁵ The pressures of hiding often exacerbated problems of mobility and contact with converts, for instance, Jesuit Vice-Provincial between 1617 to 1621 and 1626 to 1632, Mateo de Couros (1568-1633CE), became severely ill experiencing spasms and paralysis.⁹⁴⁶ A letter sent to Rome in 1635 from the Jesuit, Manuel Dias Jr. (1574-1659CE), based in Macau, confirming the apostasy of Ferreira summarizes the situation the missionaries faced thusly:

⁹⁴¹ Jennes, *A History of the Catholic Church in Japan*, 246.

⁹⁴² Cieslik, "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623: Its causes, Course, Consequences," 4.

⁹⁴³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 359.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁵ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 296.

⁹⁴⁶ Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 9-10.

None of [the previous reports on the fate of Ferreira were] obtained through letters written by Jesuits, for they all live far from Nagasaki and remain in such hiding that they have no contact with the Japanese beyond the immediate neighborhood, much less with the Portuguese who went to that city.⁹⁴⁷

The passage casts light on another aspect of the mission under persecution, namely that whilst the pre-1612 mission was mostly confined to Kyushu, now the missionaries were spread throughout Japan.⁹⁴⁸ This was likely caused by the intensity of persecution and surveillance in Kyushu. The effects of persecution limited the mission's growth, however, by 1629 there may have been as many as 26,000 new *Kirishitan* in Tohoku (Tōhoku 東北).⁹⁴⁹ The mission's relative success in the north is reflected in the figures provided in the *Kyōto oboegaki*, which records 10.62% of apostates and their descendants as hailing from Tohoku, the largest population after Kyushu.⁹⁵⁰

In summation, several points can be ascertained from the number of missionary personnel and their geographic spread during the *Kirishitan* Century. Firstly, there was a shortage of trained missionary personnel. A comparison of the number of converts to the number of missionaries, suggests a low level of contact between the missionaries and their converts. Secondly, prior to the Tokugawa persecutions, the mission was mostly confined

⁹⁴⁷ Quoted in: Cieslik, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," 19.

⁹⁴⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 357-358.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., 358.

⁹⁵⁰ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinsei shi*, 231.

to Kyushu and some areas of southern Honshu. As such, the *Kirishitan* of Kyushu were more numerous than those elsewhere in Japan, likely had a greater level of interaction with the missionary personnel, and related to this likely attained a greater understanding of Christian doctrine than *Kirishitan* elsewhere. Thirdly, there were areas whose residents through the migration of others or changes in leadership became *Kirishitan*, but lacked contact with missionaries for long periods. These *Kirishitan* likely lacked the understanding of Christian doctrine that their Kyushu counterparts attained. Finally, the persecution not only reduced the numbers of active missionaries, but also their geographic mobility, their health, and ultimately their ability to interact with converts or gain new ones. The persecution also moved missionaries away from Kyushu. All this points to low levels of priestly contact with converts (especially outside of Kyushu), which likely indicates that converts did not acquire complex doctrinal understandings. Stretched human resources led to a reliance on the *dōjuku* and *kanbō* for the purposes of teaching and running the churches,⁹⁵¹ however, this created a second set of limitations which beleaguered the mission.

Language and Education

The low number of trained personnel and the associated reliance on native lay staff highlights two further limitations associated with language acquisition and education. The

⁹⁵¹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 20-21.

language barrier plagued the Jesuits throughout their mission; in 1580, Valignano wrote that:

however much we learn of the language, and with however much effort, we still sound like children...⁹⁵²

Francisco Cabral concurred arguing that it would take at least fifteen years for a newcomer to be able to preach.⁹⁵³ Language issues stemmed not only from the complexity of Japanese with different levels of politeness, different grammar in spoken and written forms, several writing systems,⁹⁵⁴ and its use of Chinese characters, but also from the difficulties of language acquisition for the aging missionary staff and their poor pronunciation skills.⁹⁵⁵ By virtue of the inability of most European missionary staff to acquire a functional understanding of Japanese, it was only the native mission staff who were capable of preaching and explaining the faith to converts or potential converts.⁹⁵⁶ However, the native

⁹⁵² Quoted in: Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 179.

⁹⁵³ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 180.

⁹⁵⁴ By the early Meiji period four written varieties of Japanese existed (excluding a number of poetic and literary varieties); *kanbun* 漢文 (a Japanese version of classical Chinese used in Government publications), *sōrōbun* 候文 (derived from Chinese, used for official and private correspondence, and legal documents), *wabun* 和文 (written in classical Japanese and primarily used in literary prose), and a range of mixed styles known as *wakankōkōbun* 和漢混交文 or *kanamajiribun* 仮名交じり文 (a combination of the other systems with a large mixture of contemporary elements). None of these systems had a counterpart in spoken Japanese. Coulmas, "Language Policy in Modern Japanese Education," 205-206; Gottlieb, *Language and Society in Japan*, 40-43. On literary styles, see: Shirane and Suzuki eds. with Lurie, *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*.

⁹⁵⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 179, 181, 183; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 92-93, 88-89.

⁹⁵⁶ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 23.

iruman and *dōjuku* generally did not understand Latin or Portuguese,⁹⁵⁷ which was required in order to gain and instill an understanding of the Christian doctrine. Some *dōjuku* became prominent preachers and translators; however, the majority could do little more than parrot-like recitations of sermons and the catechism, lacking formal Christian education, the experience of monastic life, and access to Christian books.⁹⁵⁸

The issues of language, alongside the *dōjuku*'s more general lack of training, inspired Valignano to enact a series of reforms attempting to increase the Jesuits' capabilities of instilling doctrinal information. This included the establishment of an education system,⁹⁵⁹ but also the acceptance of greater numbers of Japanese into the Society in order to form a trained native clergy and missionary staff.⁹⁶⁰ Under Cabral, the Jesuits accepted only 7 Japanese *iruman* into the Order, compared to 30 European *iruman* by 1580.⁹⁶¹ During the first three years of his successor, Coelho, this number had increased to 20 or 23,⁹⁶² and by 1592 there were as many as 70, which caused Valignano to instruct that no more be

⁹⁵⁷ In 1579, only seven Japanese Jesuits are said to know a second language. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 185.

⁹⁵⁸ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 24-25; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 161.

⁹⁵⁹ Üçerler, "Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary, and write," 359-365.

⁹⁶⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 84, 86-89; Üçerler, "Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary, and write," 360-362; Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 20-25.

⁹⁶¹ This is a comparison of figures provided in: Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 24; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39. Cabral had not opposed the acceptance of Japanese into the Order, requesting several times that more be allowed to enter. He viewed Japanese preachers as essential for the work of conversion, however, he was opposed to the ordination of native Japanese preachers. Valignano believed that under Cabral the Japanese were treated more like servants than brothers, and that they lacked appropriate training through fear that they would usurp the Europeans' top positions. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 161.

⁹⁶² Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 24; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 166.

admitted for two years.⁹⁶³ Two native *iruman* became priests in 1601,⁹⁶⁴ increasing to a total of 14 native priests by 1614.⁹⁶⁵ Native ordination fulfilled a pressing need during the persecution period given that it was more difficult for European priests to hide than their Japanese counterparts.⁹⁶⁶

To establish a native clergy Valignano's educational reforms would be essential. The missionaries:

were unanimous in their decision to establish training seminaries for the education of native clergy...⁹⁶⁷

Yet, the missionaries themselves also required a strong language training programme.⁹⁶⁸ During Valignano's first visit, seminaries in Azuchi (*Azuchi seminario* 安土セミナリオ)⁹⁶⁹ and Arima (*Arima seminario* 有馬セミナリオ)⁹⁷⁰ dealing with education for boys aged 12-18, as well as a college in Funai (*Funai korejio* 府内コレジオ) and a novitiate in Usuki (*Usuki shūdōin* 臼杵修道院)⁹⁷¹ for higher education, were established.⁹⁷² Elison notes that

⁹⁶³ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 166; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 89.

⁹⁶⁴ Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 69.

⁹⁶⁵ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 71; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 322.

⁹⁶⁶ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 166-167.

⁹⁶⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 86.

⁹⁶⁸ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 64.

⁹⁶⁹ Mitsumata, *Azuchi Seminario*.

⁹⁷⁰ Yūki, "Arima no seminario 1595-1614," 187-198; Kataoka, *Hachirao no seminario*.

⁹⁷¹ Alternatively *nobishado* ノビシャド from the Portuguese *noviciado*.

⁹⁷² Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 81. See also: Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitan shi*, 77-81; Üçerler, "Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary, and write," 362-363. Prominent studies on the education system include: Cieslik,

Ebisawa claims a much more expansive education system, with up to 200 primary schools attached to the mission, however he rejects this claim because it is based on the count of Churches which cannot be classed as centres of formal education and could not be manned by the limited number of trained missionary staff.⁹⁷³ Takase Kōichirō also offers an expanded view of the education system arguing that in 1582 a college in Kyoto, and an additional six “college-like” residences (those residences with high numbers of resident missionary personnel) existed.⁹⁷⁴ The existence of the Kyoto College is rejected by Elison, but supported by British East India Company Captain John Saris’s contemporaneous account (1580-1643).⁹⁷⁵ Takase points to evidence that two colleges were established (both closing prior to 1614), however, because the location of these institutions frequently changed due

“Nihon ni okeru saisho no shingakkō (1601-1614),” 1-45; Kataoka, “Iezusu kai kyōiku kikan no idō to iseki,” 1-26; Cieslik, “Seminario no kyōshitachi,” 27-138; Yanagiya, “Seminario no seitotachi,” 139-164; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 140-151; Schilling, *Kirishitan bunka shi*; Sukeno, “Kirishitan dendōshi gakkō no kenkyū,” 57-104; Ishibashi, “Kirishitan jidai no seishōnen kyōiku ni suite ikkōsatsu: Amakusa no seminario, korejo no mokuroku o chūshin ni,” 96-87; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 135-139. On education following the advent of *sakoku*, see: Ishibashi, “Sakoku jidai ni mirareru Kirishitan kyōiku no eikyō ni suite ikkōsatsu,” 122-112.

⁹⁷³ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 64, 408, n. 26. For Ebisawa’s paper, see: Ebisawa, “Kirishitan no denrai to sono bunka,” 351-366. Other scholars have concurred with Ebisawa. Cieslik and Ōta for instance provide the figure of 200 educational institutions, but note that these were not strictly schools. Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 135; Schilling, *Kirishitan bunka shi*, 71-97. Moran is critical of this debate noting that it misinterprets Valignano’s instructions to establish primary schools at the Jesuits’ small colleges. He notes that only two such schools existed. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 154-155.

⁹⁷⁴ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 39-41. Perhaps this refers to Valignano’s “small colleges” established in principle towns as pastoral centres for the respective districts and housing eight to ten Jesuits each. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 154.

⁹⁷⁵ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 69. Saris notes that:

In this Citie of Miaco, the Portugall Jesuits have a very stately Colledge, wherein likewise are divers Jesuits, Naturall Japonians, which preach, and have the new Testament printed in the Japan language. In this Colledge are many Japonian Children trained up, and instructed in the rudiments of Christian Religion, according to the Romish Church: There are not less then five or sixe thousand Japonians in the Citie of Miaco professing Christ.

Saris “The Voyage of Captaine Saris in the Cloave, to the Ile of Japan,” 377.

to persecution and other incidents, these two colleges were constructed a total of nine different times in different locations.⁹⁷⁶ Ōta and Cieslik concur arguing that there were only two seminaries (one after 1588) and one college, which changed locations throughout their existence.⁹⁷⁷ Some also claim that specialist centres of learning existed. For instance, Dorotheus Schilling argued that a medical school and research centre were established in Funai in the late 1550s.⁹⁷⁸ Other scholars, such as Moran, reject the concept that more than two institutions were established, although he notes that instruction occurred at most places in which the Mass was conducted or confessions heard.⁹⁷⁹

Educational institutions primarily focused on language acquisition. For the Japanese who were learning Latin, this likely involved interaction with theological texts resulting in an increase in their knowledge of Christianity and doctrine. Nevertheless, Latin tuition often implied learning the Roman alphabet rather than the Latin language, which was necessary for the native personnel to read Japanese language texts printed in Roman characters.⁹⁸⁰ The seminary curriculum involved six and a half hours of Latin education, and three hours of Japanese language study on weekdays, whereas on Saturdays the entire morning was

⁹⁷⁶ Takase explores the Kyushu colleges in a series of two papers, and the Funai college in another series of two papers. Takase, "Kirishitan jidai lezusu kai korejio (Yamaguchi, Hirado, Ikitsuki, Chijiwa, Arie, Kazusa, Amakusa) ni tsuite (jō)," 235-309; Takase, "Kirishitan jidai lezusu kai korejio (Yamaguchi, Hirado, Ikitsuki, Chijiwa, Arie, Kazusa, Amakusa) ni tsuite (ge)," 489-588; Takase, "Kirishitan jidai lezusu kai no Funai korejio ni tsuite (jō)," 1-59; Takase, "Kirishitan jidai lezusu kai no Funai korejio ni tsuite (ge)," 1-48. Kataoka charts the movement of the colleges, in: Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 144.

⁹⁷⁷ Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 137. See also: Ishibashi, "Kirishitan jidai no seishōnen kyōiku ni tsuite ikkōsatsu: Amakusa no seminario, korejo no mokuroku o chūshin ni," 95.

⁹⁷⁸ Schilling, *Kirishitan bunka shi*, 99-175. See also: Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 172.

⁹⁷⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 155.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 154.

devoted to Latin study and two hours in the evening to Japanese.⁹⁸¹ From 1595, a number of the Japanese *iruman* were sent to Macau for further tuition.⁹⁸² Since the seminaries were primarily tailored to the education of the Japanese, the language issues experienced by the European missionary personnel continued, so that by 1592 only a handful of Europeans are described by Valignano as knowing the language well.⁹⁸³ Even Coelho who oversaw the mission between 1581 and 1590 is said to have had no knowledge of the language.⁹⁸⁴ Despite this, evidence suggests that the Jesuits' Japanese language competency had generally increased.⁹⁸⁵

Combined with Valignano's desire to 'avoid presenting the Christian message in an exclusively European format,'⁹⁸⁶ the continued inability of the European personnel to use Japanese resulted in a continued reliance on *dōjuku* as both interpreters and the primary preachers.⁹⁸⁷ Following Valignano's reforms the *dōjuku* could pursue a scholastic route aiming to become *iruman* by learning Latin in the Jesuit education system, or could choose to remain lay catechists.⁹⁸⁸ Knowledge of Latin does not appear to have become

⁹⁸¹ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 69 and 408-410, n. 30; Mitsumata, *Azuchi Seminario*, 27-28; Ishibashi, "Kirishitan jidai no seishōnen kyōiku ni tsuite ikkōsatsu: Amakusa no seminario, korejo no mokuroku o chūshin ni," 93-92.

⁹⁸² Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 175. Kataoka charts the movements of missionary staff abroad. Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 148-149.

⁹⁸³ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 183-184.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁹⁸⁵ Of 42 priests, 16 had a very good understanding (10 were capable of preaching), 21 could listen to confessions, three had an average understanding, and one had little understanding. Of the European *iruman*, two could preach, nine had a good knowledge of Japanese, five an average understanding, and three had little understanding. Only one in each group had no understanding. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 50-51.

⁹⁸⁶ Üçerler, "Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary, and write," 363.

⁹⁸⁷ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 158, 182.

⁹⁸⁸ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 26.

widespread,⁹⁸⁹ however, the reforms likely led to increased knowledge of Japanese amongst the Europeans, and of Latin and Christian doctrine amongst their Japanese employees, which in turn may have led to a greater understanding of doctrine amongst converts. Nevertheless, the general elitist attitude toward education as laid out in Valignano's *Regimen for the Seminaries of Japan* (1580) and *Sumario* (1583), alongside the missionaries' focus on converting the elite,⁹⁹⁰ suggests that the effect of educational reforms on increasing Christian and theological knowledge amongst "ordinary" converts was limited. Any increase in doctrinal or theological knowledge on the part of converts could only be achieved through the indirect spread of knowledge from those involved in the education system to the *Kirishitan*. It must also be noted that the education system required that missionaries play the role of teachers, which limited the extent to which involved personnel could engage in the roles of preaching to and interacting with converts or potential converts. Similarly, although increases in native mission staff, language and doctrinal education likely translated to an increase in theological understanding amongst converts, the issue of low numbers of personnel and the geographic spread of personnel remained. Therefore, the extent to which the effects of these reforms permeated *Kirishitan* communities can only be conjectured.

⁹⁸⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 150.

⁹⁹⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 65.

Parallel to formal education, a priestly supervision system for the *kanbō* was instated by Valignano and reformed under Visitor, Francesco Pasio (1554-1612CE),⁹⁹¹ in 1612.⁹⁹² Alongside taking care of the churches and leading *Kirishitan* communities, the *kanbō* instructed children in doctrine, read for the congregation when priests, *iruman*, and *dōjuku* were unavailable, visited the sick, communicated with the priest regarding physical and spiritual crises in their village, and in the event that a person were to die without being attended to by a priest were sanctioned to baptize and help with the burial.⁹⁹³ The *kanbō* were rarely mentioned in missionary reports,⁹⁹⁴ however, based on the reports available their numbers are estimated by Takase at 170 and 160 in 1603 and 1604 respectively.⁹⁹⁵ Higashibaba concurs with Takase, noting that there were 190 churches in 1603 twenty of which did not require *kanbō* as they were attached to Jesuit residences, colleges or seminaries.⁹⁹⁶ Beyond this it is difficult to accurately estimate their numbers; the number of churches⁹⁹⁷ had declined since 1597 when there were 250, and presumably the number

⁹⁹¹ Biographies include: López-Gay, "Father Francesco Pasio (1554-1612). And his Ideas About the Sacerdotal Training of the Japanese," 27-42.

⁹⁹² Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 28.

⁹⁹³ Bishop of Funai (1598-1614), Luís Cerqueira's (1552-1614) report quoted in: Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 27. See also: Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 49.

⁹⁹⁴ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 27.

⁹⁹⁵ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 42.

⁹⁹⁶ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 27.

⁹⁹⁷ The term "Church" does not necessarily describe *Kirishitan* systems of organization. In areas that the missionaries rarely visited the Church was semi-autonomous and organized around lay groups known as *confraria* (*konfurariya* コンフラリヤ or *konfuraria* コンフラリア, also known as *konfuraterunitasu* コンフラテルニタス (L. *confraternitas*), *Konpanya* コンパンヤ (P. *companhia*), *kogumi* 小組, and *Nanō minnkan shūkyō kyōdōtai* 南欧民間宗教共同体) which were first formed in around 1583. Valignano set the rules for *confraria* during his second visit (1590-1592). *Confraria* may have had a Buddhist origin. They were headed by the *kanbō*, in whose homes the *Kirishitan* altar was kept. Former temples were also used as Churches. Ross notes four Jesuits *confraria*: the Confraternities of the Blessed Virgin (*Santa Mariya no kumi* サンタマリヤの組), of the Annunciation (*Junkyō no kumi* 殉教の組), of the Blessed Sacrament (*Goseitai no kumi* 御聖体の組), of the Annunciation (*Junkyō no kumi* 殉教の組), of the Blessed Sacrament (*Goseitai no kumi* 御聖体の組).

of *kanbō* had decreased also.⁹⁹⁸ The *kanbō* existed as early as 1563, prior to Valignano's adoption of the term to refer to the role.⁹⁹⁹ The majority were former Buddhist monks and priests (*bōzu* 坊主), village leaders¹⁰⁰⁰ or warriors (*kokujin* 国人).¹⁰⁰¹ Unlike the *dōjuku* they were permitted to marry, and their 'lives differed less from those to whom they ministered.'¹⁰⁰² Due to their centrality to village and *Kirishitan* community life they were vital during the early mission when there was little contact with missionary staff, and for holding *Kirishitan* communities together during the persecutions.¹⁰⁰³ For Higashibaba the communal importance of the role, alongside the *kanbō*'s qualifications, indicates that:

the system of village faith itself did not change much. Mass baptisms converted the whole village, allowing the villagers to maintain a communal faith, just as they had

組), and of the Misericordia (*Mizericordiya no kumi* ミゼリコルディヤの組). The Dominican, Confraternity of the Rosary (*Rozario no kumi* ロザリオの組) and the Franciscan, Confraternity of the Cord (*Obi no kumi* 帯の組) also existed. Not all the *confraria* coexisted, for instance, Fujiwara notes that the Confraternity of the Misericordia ended during the persecutions, but laid the foundation for the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin. Kawamura, "Gurōbaru sutōrii toshite mita konfuraterunitasu no sengoku Nihon e no inyū – 'setsuzoku sareta rekishi' (Connected Histories) no ichi jirei toshite," 95-110; Kawamura, *Kirishitan shinto soshiki no tanjō to henyō: 'konfurariya' kara 'konfurariya' e*. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 89-90; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 41-49; Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 185-193; Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 7-8; Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 162-169; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 140-141. João Rodrigues's contemporaneous source on *Confraria* is translated in: Gonoï, "1618 nen, Jeronimo Rodorigesu sakusei no 'kumi naishi konfuraria ni kan suru oboegaki' ni tsuite: kaisetsu to honyaku," 1-19. On Church buildings (reused temples and house churches), see: Kudamatsu, "Bukkyō jiin Kirishitan shisetsu tenyō no ichirei – Ōmura Sumitada maisōchi • Hōshōji no baai," 105-127.

⁹⁹⁸ Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no bunka to shosō*, 42.

⁹⁹⁹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 26.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Such as elders (*otona* 乙名).

¹⁰⁰¹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 28; Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 6.

¹⁰⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰⁰³ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 49.

before. The *kanbō* system enabled the former communal leaders to hold the position of lay ministers in charge of the members of the communal faith, just as before. Many Buddhist priests remained to take care of their parishioners, just as before.¹⁰⁰⁴

Rather, he suggests that the only facets of village faith to change were the message and ritual.¹⁰⁰⁵ Whilst Valignano and Pasio's priestly supervision system and associated reforms likely increased doctrinal knowledge amongst the *kanbō* and their ability to teach it, the extent to which this was transmitted to *Kirishitan* in their communities, and how much the communities themselves changed is unclear. Similarly, it is improbable that priestly supervision had any effect in areas where there were *Kirishitan*, but no priests or missionaries present. Nevertheless, Higashibaba asserts that the priestly supervision system contributed to building the strong leadership and faith of *Kirishitan* communities, which became essential for survival following the advent of persecution.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰⁴ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 28.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid.

The Press and Publications

Valignano brought a printing press to Japan in 1590.¹⁰⁰⁷ On the same visit he was accompanied by a Japanese national trained in printing.¹⁰⁰⁸ This allowed the mission to publish catechisms, prayer books, liturgical manuals and devotions, as well as Latin and Japanese grammars and dictionaries.¹⁰⁰⁹ Prior to this, religious texts had been circulated in manuscript form and were copied by hand despite the existence of woodblock printing in Japan.¹⁰¹⁰ Through the press the Jesuits introduced *furigana* 振り仮名¹⁰¹¹ and *handakuon* 半濁音¹⁰¹² into the Japanese language, as well as completely romanised texts which could be read by those with inadequate Japanese skills.¹⁰¹³ Whilst romanised texts were initially

¹⁰⁰⁷ Initially a wooden press type was used, however, a metal type, Japanese cursive (*sōsho* 草書) script press was developed by 1598/1599. It was the first recorded moveable type press used to print Japanese character texts in Japan. The press was first used in Goa and Macao (en route to Japan) to print texts for the mission. Üçerler, "Missionary Printing," 113; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 190; Braga, "The beginnings of printing at Macao," 29-35; Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko: a manual of books and documents on the early Christian mission in Japan*, 1-18. On the Dominican Press and publications, see: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 169-173.

¹⁰⁰⁸ This man, Constantino Dourado コンスタンチノ・ドラード (1567-1620CE), was part of the Tenshō embassy (*Tenshō keno shōnen shisetsu* 天正遣欧少年使節) that accompanied Valignano to Europe between 1582 and 1590. He had trained in Lisbon and Goa. He was a *dōjuku*, but was later ordained following his exile in 1614. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 125-126; Takashi, "Relations between Japan and Goa in the 16th and 17th centuries," 105-107; Üçerler, "Missionary Printing," 113; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 159-160; Braga, "The beginnings of printing at Macao," 31-32; Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 9, 21.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 155, 187; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 71; Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 16. Laures explores the output of the press in: Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 26-106. See also: Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*.

¹⁰¹⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 189-190.

¹⁰¹¹ The printing of *kana* 仮名 next to *kanji* 漢字 in order to indicate the pronunciation of the character.

¹⁰¹² The semi-voiced sounds *pa* ぱ/パ, *pi* ぴ/ピ, *pu* ぷ/プ, *pe* ぺ/ペ, *po* ぽ/ポ.

¹⁰¹³ Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 18; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 153. Such texts existed prior to the importation of the press, for example Xavier notes in a letter to the Society at Goa (July 1551) that a text recounting the life of Christ until his Ascension including a description of the last judgement had been translated into Japanese and transcribed into Latin characters. Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis*

favoured they were of little use to ordinary believers¹⁰¹⁴ or Japanese staff unable to read Latin characters, and therefore following some trial and error, and Valignano's change in stance on the issue, Japanese character texts were also printed.¹⁰¹⁵ Latin and Portuguese terms were transliterated for essential points of doctrine, and Buddhist terms were adopted elsewhere when possible,¹⁰¹⁶ however, for the Japanese readership and listenership transliterated terms were unintelligible and required explanation.¹⁰¹⁷ This decision arose from earlier issues when the Jesuits discovered that they were perceived through their use of Buddhist terminology to be preaching a form of Buddhism, and alongside the fact that they had come from India¹⁰¹⁸ were understood to be the representatives of a new Buddhist sect.¹⁰¹⁹ The perception of *Kirishitan* as Buddhist continued to exist even after the decision to rely on transliterated terms. For instance, the *Kirishitan monogatari* describes the

Xavier, Vol. 2, 296. On Romanisation in Japanese language Kirishitan texts, see: Negishi, "Kirishitan bunken ni okeru Nihongo no Rōmaji hyōki no igi," 148-134.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cieslik, *Kirishitan no kokoro*, 38.

¹⁰¹⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 154-155; Üçerler, "Missionary Printing," 113.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitan shi*, 100. The problems associated with terminology and translation are explored at length in: Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 67-97; Kim, *Strange Names of God: The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's Shangti in Late Ming China*, 71-86; Schurhammer, *Das Kirchliche Sprachproblem in der Japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts*; Okada, *Kirishitan • Bateren*, 25-41; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 114-115; Hazama, "Kirishitan ban ni mirareru Kirisutokyō no minshūka," 1091-1092.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible*, 25.

¹⁰¹⁸ Originally the missionaries were called *Tenjikujin* 天竺人 (Indians). Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 1.

¹⁰¹⁹ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 308-310; Miyazaki, "Roman Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan," 6; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 33-36; Schurhammer, *Das Kirchliche Sprachproblem in der Japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts.*, 1-42, 66-75; Fróis, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578)*, 15; Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible*, 25-27. The complete lack of knowledge of Christianity in Japan likely also influenced this conception. Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 33; Yamato, "Kirishitan jidai saishoki ni okeru Kirisutokyō to Bukkyō no kōshō," 109-139.

religion as Buddhist, although Elison notes that this may have been a literary device used to expose Christianity as heretical.¹⁰²⁰

Although printed materials were precious and few,¹⁰²¹ and the number of copies of printed texts is uncertain,¹⁰²² Moran notes that some were freely available to the *Kirishitan*.¹⁰²³ The increased availability of texts with as many as 100 different titles¹⁰²⁴ suggests an increase in theological knowledge amongst the Japanese *iruman*, *dōjuku*, and *kanbō*,¹⁰²⁵ and the transference of this knowledge to converts. The press's output may have also increased knowledge of Christianity amongst the literate *Kirishitan* and non-*Kirishitan* alike. Literacy increased following the division of the warrior and peasant classes under

¹⁰²⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 328-311 and 478, n. 12; Okada, *Kirishitan • Bateren*, 25-33.

¹⁰²¹ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 173.

¹⁰²² Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 126. Drawing on Diogo de Mesquita's letters Yoshimi Orii and Diego Pacheco claim that between 1,300 and 1,500 copies per edition were printed, however, it is likely that these figures are inflated as evidenced by the fact that works such as Rodrigues's *Arte Breve da Lingoa Japoa* (1620) of which only 100 copies were made, were printed in much lower quantities. Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 194; Pacheco, "Diogo de Mesquita, S.J. and the Jesuit Mission Press," 411; Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 53-54; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 197.

¹⁰²³ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 145.

¹⁰²⁴ Approximately 40 titles have survived, but Jesuit letters record the existence of other texts. Boxer distinguishes between three sorts of texts created by the Jesuits; texts translated from European languages including religious works, calendars and secular works (Aesop's Fables and Cicero's Speeches), texts adapted from Japanese works, and linguistic works. Higashibaba offers a different way of distinguishing between texts; Latin texts in Roman characters for Europeans and Japanese students of Latin, Japanese texts in Roman characters for Europeans involved in preaching, Japanese texts in Japanese characters for both Europeans and Japanese involved in preaching, and Latin, Portuguese and Japanese texts in Roman characters for Europeans and Japanese who studied said languages. Anesaki and Ebisawa offer thematic categorizations. Anesaki distinguishes between six types of *Kirishitan* publication; *doctrina* and *credo*, *practica*, spiritual instructions, *martyrio*, *apologetic*, and miscellaneous writings such as letters and rule books. Ebisawa on the other hand distinguishes between a total of 16 types of text. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 126; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 191; Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 52-53. Anesaki, *Kirishitan shūkyō bungaku*, 5-6; Anesaki, *Kirishitan dendō no kōhai*, 379, 383-389; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 26-30.

¹⁰²⁵ *Dōjuku* were recruited from the noble and warrior classes, and were therefore able to read and write. Literacy was also a requirement for the *kanbō*. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 24, 27.

Hideyoshi as reading became a necessity for wealthy farmers, who were now required to administer their localities.¹⁰²⁶ Read aloud, printed materials could also be used to increase theological knowledge amongst illiterate converts. Reflecting a hitherto lack of doctrinal education, the target audience of many of the printed materials and catechisms were ordinary believers.¹⁰²⁷ Johannes Laures notes that Xavier's successors were preoccupied with preparing basic treatises on Christianity, illustrating the paucity of writings available to meet these requirements.¹⁰²⁸ Similarly, Valignano requested that printed books forego the Inquisition in Goa because the texts 'for many years to come will be pious and easy books, of no great profundity and without scholastic controversies.'¹⁰²⁹ Therefore, whilst there was an increase in the availability of doctrinal information, it appears that conveying basic doctrinal information remained a pressing issue.

¹⁰²⁶ Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*, 13-18.

¹⁰²⁷ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitan shi*, 158. Some scholars have suggested that there were attempts to create partial translations of the Biblical text, and some primary sources suggest that complete texts were in print, however, as Cohen argues there is insufficient evidence to indicate that a serious effort to translate the entire Bible was undertaken. Partial translations of the Gospels, selected passages for use in prayer and catechisms, and portions of the Old Testament (e.g. the Decalogue), were necessary for missionary work and use in sermons. Although the Vatican was opposed to Biblical translation, translation activities were sanctioned for missionary work so long as a complete Biblical text was not published. Some biblical stories although transmogrified through oral passage made their way into texts written by the *senpuku Kirishitan*, such as *Tenchi hajimari no koto* 天地始之事. Cieslik, "Shūkyō shisō shi kara mita Bareto shahon," 47-92; Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible*, 18-25; Saris "The Voyage of Captaine Saris in the Cloave, to the Ile of Japan," 377. Versions of *Tenchi hajimari no koto* are printed in: Tagita, *Study of acculturation among the secret Christians of Japan*, 34-85; Tagita, *Shōwa jidai no senpuku Kirishitan*, 83-163. An English translation is provided in: Whelan, *The Beginning of Heaven and Earth*, 37-67.

¹⁰²⁸ Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 4. On early attempts to create catechetical texts, see: Gonoï, " 'Imitatio • Kurisuti' kara 'Kontemutsusu Munchi' made: 'De Imitatione Christi' ('Kirisuto ni naraite') to Iezusu Kai to Nihon no Kirishitan," 2.

¹⁰²⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 149.

Yoshimi Orii notes that many religious texts published by the Jesuits are notable as they omit controversial or easily misunderstood doctrines, and supplement their translations with additional explanatory material.¹⁰³⁰ The principal Jesuit catechism, *Dochirina Kirishitan* どちらなきりしたん,¹⁰³¹ was initially published from Kazusa 加津佐 in 1591,¹⁰³² Amakusa in 1592 and Nagasaki in 1600,¹⁰³³ in both romanised and Japanese character forms.¹⁰³⁴ *Dochirina Kirishitan* and *Myōtei Mondō* 妙貞問答¹⁰³⁵ written by Habian in 1605, appear to have been the most widely distributed Christian texts of the period.¹⁰³⁶ Kiri Paramore writes that these texts were written for non-believers or recent converts,¹⁰³⁷ however, according to Valignano, *Dochirina Kirishitan*, was to be used in the seminaries in order to provide sufficient instruction and a means to learn the doctrine, alongside other books ‘appropriate for the Japanese, taking into account their ability and their newness in religion.’¹⁰³⁸ *Dochirina Kirishitan* was likely used for doctrinal education in both seminaries

¹⁰³⁰ Orii, “The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History,” 199-207.

¹⁰³¹ Modern reprints include: Ebisawa ed., *Dochirina Kirishitan*; Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., “Dochirina Kirishitan,” 14-81. Descriptions included in: Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 91-112; Gono, “‘Imitatio • Kurisuti’ kara ‘Kontemutsusu Munchi’ made: ‘De Imitatione Christi’ (‘Kirisuto ni naraite’) to lezusu Kai to Nihon no Kirishitan,” 2-3.

¹⁰³² Cieslik, *Kirishitan no kokoro*, 42. Previously the press had been used to publish a Church calendar, summaries of doctrine, and prayers. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 126; Üçerler, “Missionary Printing,” 113.

¹⁰³³ This reflects the movement of the press from the Jesuit college at Kazusa to Amakusa, and then to Nagasaki. Peter Kornicki notes the existence of other presses, such as the one in Kyoto used to print *Contemptus mundi* in 1610. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 125; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 198.

¹⁰³⁴ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitan shi*, 93; Cieslik, *Kirishitan no kokoro*, 36. Higashibaba argues that due to its importance at least one copy of the text was likely available to each *Kirishitan* community. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 54.

¹⁰³⁵ Japanese versions in: Masamune, *Myōtei mondō*, *Ha Daiusu*, *Kengiroku*, 4-73; Ebisawa ed., “Myōtei Mondō,” 113-170, 503. See description in: Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 106-107.

¹⁰³⁶ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 18.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid., 12-13.

¹⁰³⁸ Quoted in: Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 148.

and *Kirishitan* communities,¹⁰³⁹ with the aim of developing educational and theological unity.¹⁰⁴⁰

As Habian was a native Japanese, *Myōtei Mondō* reflects the efficacy of Valignano's reforms to instil more detailed doctrinal understanding.¹⁰⁴¹ The text also illustrates the ongoing need for explanations of the faith; a goal it attempted to reach. Nevertheless, *Myōtei Mondō* was not only a doctrinal work, but sought to refute Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism, placing it within the tradition of Jesuit polemics.¹⁰⁴² Paramore notes that because *Myōtei Mondō* was authored by a Japanese national in the context of the *Kirishitan* movement it is the best example of indigenous *Kirishitan* thought from the period.¹⁰⁴³ Furthermore, he notes that the text's central theme of human ethics, whilst popular in contemporary Confucian texts is built around Habian's 'scholastic-mediated Aristotelian explication of creation theory.'¹⁰⁴⁴ Consequently, the text confirms that educational reform helped to instil Western philosophical and theological knowledge, at least in those taught within the system. Nevertheless, *Myōtei Mondō* departs from other contemporaneous Christian texts used in Japan. The former focuses on the knowledge of:

¹⁰³⁹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 54.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cieslik, *Kirishitan no kokoro*, 37.

¹⁰⁴¹ This is also illustrated in the work of other Japanese *Kirishitan*, see: Gunn, *First Globalization*, 90. On unknown Japanese authors and printers, see: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 197-198.

¹⁰⁴² Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 1.

¹⁰⁴³ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 13.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

abstracted ethical rightness as truth, the attainment of which is the function of human beings attributed by God through *anima rationalis*.¹⁰⁴⁵

On the other hand, *Dochirina Kirishitan*, *Kirishitan kokoroegaki* 吉利支丹心得書,¹⁰⁴⁶ *Sakaramenta teiyōfuroku* サカラメント提要付録,¹⁰⁴⁷ *Gopashon no kannen* 御パシヨンの観念¹⁰⁴⁸ and others contemporaneous texts emphasize the importance of faith (*fides*) and grace, viewing knowledge and the world in negative terms.¹⁰⁴⁹ In any case, the output of the press clearly increased doctrinal and theological knowledge amongst native Jesuits and the literate classes. The same can likely be said of illiterate converts, however, the extent to which it did is open to interpretation. Geoffrey C. Gunn writes that whilst the readership and circulation of the press's output have not been studied:

there is no question that the Jesuit press in Japan served to deepen and consolidate the Christian mission.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid., 22.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Modern reprints include: Anesaki, *Kirishitan kokoroesho: shinja to zenkō tono shiori*; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan kokoroesho*.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Modern reprint in: Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., "Sakaramenta teiyōfuroku," 181-223.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Modern reprint in: Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., "Gopashon no kannen," 225-321.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, 22.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Gunn, *First Globalization*, 90.

Nevertheless, due to the issue of illiteracy and the large output of texts printed in Roman characters,¹⁰⁵¹ Orii's assertion that 'Japanese versions of European catechisms and sermons became substitutes for live preaching'¹⁰⁵² cannot be maintained. Although as she notes, such texts may have been important in areas inaccessible to priests,¹⁰⁵³ and likely contributed to a greater uniformity of teaching and catechetical instruction.¹⁰⁵⁴

Beside catechetical and doctrinal texts, martyrological works printed since the establishment of the press became increasingly important especially after the persecutions intensified.¹⁰⁵⁵ One of the press's earliest publications, *Sanctos no Gosagyō* (J. *Santosu no Gosagyō* サントスの御作業, 1591),¹⁰⁵⁶ contained accounts of the lives of the apostles, popular saints and martyrs, and a 171 page (of a total 600 pages) treatise on martyrdom entitled *Maruchiriyo no Kotowari* マルチリヨの理.¹⁰⁵⁷ Two years later, a text known

¹⁰⁵¹ Of the texts referred to by Higashibaba 20 of 31 texts were written in Roman script. Although 20 of the texts were written in Japanese, nine of the Japanese texts used Roman script. In total, only 11 of the texts listed by Higashibaba could be read by Japanese who lacked knowledge of the Roman alphabet. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 52-53.

¹⁰⁵² Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 193. In Europe, the printing press caused a shift away from the oral transmission of the catechism and created a focus on its memorization. These changes potentially occurred in Japan also. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 54-55.

¹⁰⁵³ Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 193.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 53.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 182-185.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Modern reprints and commentaries include: Obara ed., *Santosu no gosagyō*; Fukushima, *Santosu no gosagyō: honji kenkyūhen*; Anesaki, *Kirishitan shūkyō bungaku*, 585-709. Descriptions are found in: Matsuoka, "Santosu no gosagyō ni mirareru keitai to naiyō," 53-73; Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan: 1591-1610*, 1-12; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 203-20; Gonoi, " 'Imitatio • Kurisuti' kara 'Kontemutsusu Munchi' made: 'De Imitatione Christi' ('Kirisuto ni naraite') to Iezusu Kai to Nihon no Kirishitan," 3-4; Lares Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., "Sanctos no gosagueono uchi nuqigaqi." Lares Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., "Sanctos no gosaguio no uchi nuqigagi."

¹⁰⁵⁷ Anesaki, "Writings on Martyrdom in Kirishitan Literature. (1)," 291.

variously as *On Baptism and Preparation for Death* and *Bauchizumo no sazukeyō* ばうちずもの授けやう¹⁰⁵⁸ was printed, and contained a passage which included ‘an example of instruction to be given in preparation for martyrdom.’¹⁰⁵⁹ Important amongst the texts on martyrdom were *Exhortations to Martyrdom* (*Maruchiriyo no susume* マルチリヨの勧め, 1615), *Instructions on Martyrdom* (*Maruchiriyo no kokoroe* マルチリヨの心得, 1622) and *Mirror of Martyrdom* (*Maruchiriyo no kagami* マルチリヨの鑑, pre-1615)¹⁰⁶⁰ all of which encouraged martyrdom¹⁰⁶¹ and positioned it as an exemplary act of faith.¹⁰⁶² Whilst, Fujiwara asserts that a focus on suffering and the potentiality of martyrdom had been present from the mission’s outset,¹⁰⁶³ the increase in the publication of martyrological texts as the persecution progressed¹⁰⁶⁴ reflects the mission’s changing contextual circumstances, the evolving foci of the missionaries, and adherents’ lived experiences of martyrdom.¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁵⁸ Reprinted in: Obara ed., *Kirishitan no junkyō to senpuku*, 137-155.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Anesaki, “Writings on Martyrdom in Kirishitan Literature. (1),” 291. For said passage, see: Obara ed., *Kirishitan no junkyō to senpuku*, 154-155. See also: Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., “On Baptism and Preparation for Death.”

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Maruchiriyo* is also romanised *Maruchirio*. English translations of *Maruchiriyo no susume* and *Maruchiriyo no kokoroe* are found in: Anesaki, “Writings on Martyrdom in Kirishitan Literature,” 20-65. Japanese versions of all three texts along with descriptions are found in: Anesaki, *Kirishitan shūmon no hakugai to senpuku*, 131-239. Descriptions are also included in: Anesaki, *Kirishitan shūkyō bungaku*, 27-54; Anesaki, “Writings on Martyrdom in Kirishitan Literature. (1),” 291; Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 148-153; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 205-206; Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., “Maruchirio no susume マルチリヨの勧め.”; Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., “Maruchiriyo no kokoroe マルチリヨの心得.”; Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., “Maruchiriyo no kagami マルチリヨの鑑.”

¹⁰⁶¹ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 182-183.

¹⁰⁶² Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 207.

¹⁰⁶³ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 176-183.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Anesaki lists 13 texts relating to martyrdom published between 1591 and 1626. Most of these texts were written or printed before the dismantling of the press, however, during the early 1620s four martyrological texts were published coinciding with the time that the persecution became most severe. Anesaki, “Writings on Martyrdom in Kirishitan Literature. (1),” 291-292.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 207.

Early passages such as the biographical accounts included in *Sanctos no Gosagyō* likely acted primarily as teaching resources. Story as a medium was potentially easier to understand than strictly doctrinal and catechetical pieces, and could provide examples of what a Christian was and how they ought to behave. However, as the persecution progressed it became important to reduce apostasy, a sin that would result in the apostate's eternal suffering¹⁰⁶⁶ and signify the persecutors' victory. Higashibaba writes:

martyrdom made perfect sense in the Kirishitan doctrine, which claimed that salvation in the afterlife was the primary goal of the faith.¹⁰⁶⁷

He continues:

for the missionaries, [it] was the only legitimate behaviour when persecuted...after 1614, being Kirishitan, when it meant an explicit demonstration of the Kirishitan faith, was fulfilled by being martyred. Receiving Baptism, using Kirishitan symbols, learning the catechism, partaking in the sacraments, and saying Kirishitan prayers, were not enough.¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁶ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 149.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

Martyrdom thereby became one of the only viable routes to secure salvation. Nevertheless, *Maruchiriyo no kokoroe* also provided permission for *Kirishitan* (on the condition that they did not act like heathens) to refuse to state their religion during an inquisition if a confession would result in torture or death, to migrate or hide in order to avoid arrest, and to hide religious items.¹⁰⁶⁹ That several thousand *Kirishitan* embraced martyrdom, and that tens of thousands took their faith underground, attests to the efficacy of these teachings. Moreover, it illustrates that through their publications the missionaries could shape knowledge, beliefs, and codes of behaviour.

Grammars and dictionaries existed prior to the presence of the press, including Duarte da Silva's (1536-1564) *Arte da Lingua Japoneza* and *Vocabulario da Lingua Japoneza*, a 1564 grammar by João (Juan) Fernández (1526-1567),¹⁰⁷⁰ Manuel Álvares's Latin Grammar *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesu De Institutione Grammatica libri tres*¹⁰⁷¹ (1572) and others.¹⁰⁷² The press marked a boom in such publications. *Sanctos no Gosagyō* included a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary in its second part.¹⁰⁷³ In 1592, Habian published his *Nifon no cotoba to historia uo narai xiran to fossuru fito no tameni xeua ni yaua raguetau Feiqe*

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., 152.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Fernández grammar and vocabularies were likely unfinished. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 156-157.

¹⁰⁷¹ Álvares, *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesu De Institutione Grammatica libri tres: juxta editionem venetam anni 1575*. See also: Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, 26.

¹⁰⁷² Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550-1800*, 93-94, 98-103; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 156-157; Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 49-66; Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 128-130.

¹⁰⁷³ Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, 1-12.

no monogatari,¹⁰⁷⁴ a colloquial explanation of the *Heike Monogatari* 平家物語 for the use of those studying Japanese.¹⁰⁷⁵ Alvarez's aforementioned grammar was first printed in Japanese in 1594, having become a primary textbook for students in Europe.¹⁰⁷⁶ In 1595, the Dictionary, *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum, Ex Ambrosii Calepini Volumine Depromptum* was printed,¹⁰⁷⁷ followed by a dictionary of Chinese compounds entitled *Racuyoxu* (J. *Rakuyōshū* 落葉集, also known as *Ra cu yo xu sive Dictionarium Japonicum; Characteres habet hinc Sinicus, illinc Iapponicus*) in 1598.¹⁰⁷⁸ In 1603, the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*¹⁰⁷⁹ was published with a supplement released the following year.¹⁰⁸⁰ In the same year (1604), work on printing João Rodrigues's *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*¹⁰⁸¹ also began (although it was not completed until 1608).¹⁰⁸² Rodrigues

¹⁰⁷⁴ Fabian, *Nifon no cotoba to historia vo narai xiran to fossuru fito no tameni xeva ni yavaraguetaru Feiqe no Monogatari*.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, 12-20. Other abridged versions of Japanese texts for European students of Japanese were also circulated. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 193. On the study of native texts by the missionaries, see: Ebisawa, *Kirishitan nanban bungaku nyūmon*, 237-251.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 194.

¹⁰⁷⁷ This was already in circulation prior to the importation of the press. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 155. See also: Kishimoto, "Kirishitan ban "Ra Po Nichi Taigo Jisho" shohon no kakiire ni tsuite," 123-135. The original text is: Calepini, *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum, ex Ambrosii Calepini volumine depromptum: in quo omissis nominibus propriis tam locorum, quam hominum, ac quibusdam aliis minus usitatis, omnes vocabulorum significationes, elegantioresque dicendi modi apponuntur: in usum, & gratiam Iaponicae iuventutis, quae Latino idiomati operam navat, nec non Europaeorum, qui Iaponicum sermonem addiscunt*.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, 27, 35; Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil*, 108-109; Anonymous, *Racuyoxu*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Doi, Morita, and Chōnan eds., *Hōyaku Nippo Jisho*.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, 45-46; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 195.

¹⁰⁸¹ Rodrigues, *Nihon Daibuntan*.

¹⁰⁸² Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil*, 93-142; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 154; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 195-197.

published a second grammar, *Arte Breve da Lingoa Japoa*,¹⁰⁸³ in 1620 from Macau.¹⁰⁸⁴ These texts contributed to the acquisition of Japanese and Latin amongst both foreign and native Jesuits, increasing the ability of the foreign missionaries to preach and increasing Japanese members' understanding of theology and doctrine. It must be noted that the Jesuits provided the Franciscans with a grammar and dictionary, which were possibly products of the press.¹⁰⁸⁵ The Franciscans complained that the vocabulary and grammar were inadequate for learning Japanese.¹⁰⁸⁶ Whilst the Franciscans' complaints were potentially propagandistic, taken at face value they suggest that Jesuit resources for learning Japanese were insufficient for this task.

Alongside publications, Boxer notes the importance of copper-plate engraving and oil painting (which existed in original and copied form) as a means through which the Jesuits could disseminate their ideas.¹⁰⁸⁷ Visual imagery was used elsewhere as a means to begin religious education for those races incapable 'of understanding reasoning.'¹⁰⁸⁸ During hiding *kakejiku* 掛軸 (painted hanging scrolls) became important devotional objects, used to decorate *senpuku* and *kakure Kirishitan* altars, and as a primary focus in their worship,¹⁰⁸⁹ suggesting that visual sources had greater appeal to the *Kirishitan* than written ones.

¹⁰⁸³ Rodrigues, *Nihon Shōbunten*.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 146; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 197.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Cf. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 156; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 194.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 156.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 198-202. Cieslik provides details about painting and engraving in his biography of Kimura Leonardo 木村レオナルド (1576-1619CE). Cieslik, *Kirisuto no akashibito*, 146-150. See also: Cieslik and Ōta, *Kirishitan*, 154-157; Asami, *Kirishitan Jidai no gūzō sūhai*.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Testimony of a Jesuit missionary from Bolivia, quoted in: Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion in Sixteenth Century Central Mexico: The Augustinian War on and Beyond the Chichimeca Frontier*, 206.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 100.

Nevertheless, the extent to which visual materials could be used to instil theological and doctrinal understanding is questionable, and in line with Higashibaba's thesis it could be argued that they marked little more than the replacement of traditional religious symbols with Christian ones.

It is improbable that linguistic works could be used to full effect following the closure of the Jesuits' educational institutions and during the period of persecution. Moreover, many publications were destroyed by the Tokugawa authorities.¹⁰⁹⁰ Boxer writes that the last discovered text from the press printed in Japan was printed in 1611, but assumes that other undiscovered texts were printed until 1614 when the press was taken to Macau.¹⁰⁹¹ The press wasn't unpacked until 1620, when it was used to print *Arte Breve da Lingoa Japoa*.¹⁰⁹² Thereafter it was left unused, as the Jesuits were content to make use of woodblock printing, and moveable type printing didn't find favour in China until the 19th Century.¹⁰⁹³ It is thought that some texts such as Church calendars continued to be prepared in Japan until 1620, and thereafter were imported from Macau.¹⁰⁹⁴ Üçerler notes that following the *Kaikin rei*, missionary printing for Japan ceased altogether,¹⁰⁹⁵ however, the *senpuku Kirishitan* were able to hide some documents and continued to make

¹⁰⁹⁰ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 126.

¹⁰⁹¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 198.

¹⁰⁹² Üçerler, "Missionary Printing," 114. Laures notes two further works printed after *Arte Breve da Lingoa Japoa*; biographies of St. Ignatius (1621) and Francis Xavier (1623). Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 25.

¹⁰⁹³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 198; Gunn, *First Globalization*, 92; Braga, "The beginnings of printing at Macao," 34.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Murakami, "An Old Church Calendar in Japanese," 219-220. Whilst Naojirō Murakami infers that a press used to prepare calendars remained in Japan after 1614, Laures argues that all the presses had likely been taken to Macau in 1614. Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 23-26.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Üçerler, "Missionary Printing," 114.

handwritten copies. For instance, a 1787 copy of a 1634 liturgical calendar has been discovered.¹⁰⁹⁶ Following the genesis of the Tokugawa persecutions publishing became a difficult task. Furthermore, the European printing techniques introduced by the Jesuits ultimately had little effect on Japanese printing during the Edo period.¹⁰⁹⁷ Christian materials were dangerous to possess, an inconvenience for those in hiding, and targeted by the Tokugawa authorities for destruction.¹⁰⁹⁸ However, reports attest to a large number of Jesuit texts being burnt in 1626 testifying to their continued importance.¹⁰⁹⁹ Congruent with this Orii notes that according to Jesuit reports, publications increased in importance following the start of the persecution.¹¹⁰⁰ In summation, the output of the press reduced aforementioned linguistic issues and helped to increase the dissemination of theological and doctrinal information, however, following the genesis of the persecution and the closure of the Jesuits' educational institutions, the efficacy of publications to fulfil either of these roles decreased. Moreover, the extent to which the press increased doctrinal and theological information amongst ordinary converts is ultimately unclear.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Murakami, "An Old Church Calendar in Japanese," 219; Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 194.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 127.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 193-194.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 126.

¹¹⁰⁰ Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 193.

Isolation from Europe, Limitations from External Interference, and Finances

A further set of limitations acting upon the mission relate to the seemingly contradictory factors of the Jesuits' isolation from Europe and India, and interference in the mission by the powers in both locations. The Jesuits in Goa developed a sophisticated communications system with Europe, however, the spread of information was slow.¹¹⁰¹ It took at least four years for letters and their responses to be exchanged between Rome and India,¹¹⁰² and there were periods when communication with Europe broke down completely.¹¹⁰³ Between Japan and India was a further three year round trip.¹¹⁰⁴ A one way journey from Europe took two and a half years at best to reach Japan, whereas a round trip took five to six years.¹¹⁰⁵ Land routes to Goa also existed and were often quicker when combined with sea travel through the Mediterranean.¹¹⁰⁶ The Japanese also traded with the Spanish Philippines, which incidentally provided a faster route through Mexico to Europe, however, the relations between the Spanish and Jesuits were hostile, and Valignano's

¹¹⁰¹ Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, *Envoys of a Human God: The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557-1632*, 102.

¹¹⁰² O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 63.

¹¹⁰³ Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery, Book Two*, 612.

¹¹⁰⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 105.

¹¹⁰⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 42.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 44; Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, vol. 1, 100. For example, Heinrich Roth (1620-1668CE) and Franz Storer (1617-1662CE) took two years to travel between Goa and Rome on land and sea. Augustinian priest Nicolau de Melo and an *iruman* named Nicholas travelled from Manilla to Goa between 1597 and 1598, and arrived in Moscow via land in 1599. Petro (Pedro) Kasui Kibe ペトロ・カスイ・岐部 (1587-1639CE) travelled from Macau to India by sea and then to Rome by land and sea (across the Mediterranean) between 1618 and 1620, and returned to Macau by sea between 1623 and 1625. Finally, traveller Pietro della Valle (1586-1652CE) travelled from Goa to Rome between 1623 and 1624 by land. Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History: 1956-1998*, 91; Cieslik, *Sekai o aruita Kirishitan*, 164-176, 205-236; Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602-1747)*, 49-51; Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance, Book One*, 380; NPO Hōjin Ōita Bungo Runesansu NPO ed., *Petoro Kibe: Rōma made aruita otoko*.

inclusion of Spanish and Italian Jesuits in the mission when he first sailed to India did not garner him favour amongst the superiors there.¹¹⁰⁷

It was only after the founding of Macau in 1557 that the Jesuits in Japan established regular communication with continental Asia, after which there were annual voyages between Goa, Macau and Japan.¹¹⁰⁸ However, even this did not allow for the swift transportation of people or information. On his second trip to Japan, Valignano was delayed for two years in Macau until 1590 having missed the annual ship in 1588.¹¹⁰⁹ Whereas the transmission of information was restricted to such an extent that when he returned to Macau in 1592 almost a thousand letters were waiting for him.¹¹¹⁰ Furthermore, yearly voyages often failed to arrive, for instance between 1594 and 1614 the annual ships from Macau failed to arrive eight times.¹¹¹¹ All of this was exacerbated by the loss of ships through bad weather and attack from hostile forces.¹¹¹² In a sense isolation was also self-

¹¹⁰⁷ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 44-49.

¹¹⁰⁸ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 92-93, 105. Xavier's account of his voyage to Japan illustrates some of the difficulties with travel to the islands prior to the establishment of Macau. First, he voyaged to Malacca from Cochin, a 40-day journey with pleasant weather. There Xavier and the Commandant of the city unable to find a suitable Portuguese vessel for the journey organized to travel in a Chinese junk onwards to Japan. The party departed on June 24th and arrived on August 15th, 1549. The Chinese captain had sought to winter in China en route, however, the Jesuits persuaded him to continue by claiming that wintering in Canton would break their contract. Later they decided to winter in another Chinese port, but found it overrun with pirates, and so continued toward Japan. These were not the only difficulties; stormy weather caused one of the Jesuits' companions (Emmanuel the Chinese) to fall into the sink of the ship injuring him, whilst the captain's daughter was flung overboard and drowned. These details are recorded in Letters to Fathers Paul of Camerino, Antonio Gomez, and Balthasar Gago from Malacca (Feast of Corpus Christi, 1549), and to the Society at Goa from Kagoshima (November 11th, 1549). See: Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. II, 154-155, 164-165, 227-232.

¹¹⁰⁹ Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 11.

¹¹¹⁰ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 37.

¹¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹¹¹² *Ibid.*, 43.

imposed, the Jesuits' commitment to Japan was life long and many were unable to return to Europe.¹¹¹³ None of this is to imply that communication with Europe did not occur, *Dochirina Kirishitan* and a number of other texts were based on European originals,¹¹¹⁴ however, political and religious changes important to the Church in Europe such as the Reformation were of little consequence to the mission.¹¹¹⁵

Slow communications hampered the mission's communication with their superiors. It took five years from 1575 to 1580 for Valignano to receive permission to institute his recommendations and decisions for the mission.¹¹¹⁶ Even in cases when assistance was offered by Rome the uncertainties of maritime navigation could render it futile, for instance two additional printing presses dispatched to Japan in 1595 were lost through shipwreck.¹¹¹⁷ The Jesuits' isolation, alongside the need to keep control of the native members of the Society, led Valignano in his role as the Visitor to request extensive powers in order to allow the mission to make decisions independently, and therefore in 1581 the mission was conferred the status of a Vice-Province.¹¹¹⁸ Despite this, the mission wasn't free from European intervention; in 1580 Everard Mercurian (1514-1580CE), Superior General of the Society, requested that texts published by the mission be sent to Rome for

¹¹¹³ Cooper, "The Early Europeans and Tea," 102.

¹¹¹⁴ On *Dochirina Kirishitan* and the European texts upon which it was based, see: Cieslik, *Kirishitan no kokoro*, 21-61. On other texts translated from European languages, see: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 191-192; Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," 198-207.

¹¹¹⁵ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitan shi*, 95.

¹¹¹⁶ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 146.

¹¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹¹¹⁸ Cieslik, "Alessandro Valignano: Pioneer in Adaptation." Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 87-88.

examination, however, his successor Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615CE) revised the ruling.¹¹¹⁹ Valignano asked Acquaviva to seek papal permission for the mission to circumvent the referral of books to the Inquisition in Goa due to the slowness of communications which would stall the dissemination of the works, the fact that the publications would be simple texts lacking risk of heresy, and the inability of the inquisitors to read Japanese.¹¹²⁰ Through the intervention of the Vice-Province's Procurator, Gil de la Mata, such permission was granted in 1595, however, the issue continued to affect the mission.¹¹²¹ In 1604, it caused the delay of the publication of the catechism in Chinese for eight years, and Gil de la Mata's successor, Francisco Rodrigues, was instructed to raise the issue once more with the Superior General.¹¹²²

The mission's financial situation also reflected its isolation. Valignano estimated that the mission cost 10,000 to 12,000 ducats per annum.¹¹²³ In terms of income five to six thousand cruzados were gained each year from the port in Nagasaki; unreliable contributions came from *Kirishitan* and occasionally non-*Kirishitan daimyō*, Macau and Malacca; yearly papal and Portuguese donations frequently failed to be paid; and the Jesuits were forced to rely on the risky, but officially approved Macau-Nagasaki silk trade, as well

¹¹¹⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 146.

¹¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹²² *Ibid.*

¹¹²³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 114. Takase provides the yearly expenditure of the mission in: Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no kenkyū*, 214-217.

as trade in precious metals and other items.¹¹²⁴ Despite frequent requests for funding from Europe little ever materialized.¹¹²⁵ For example, whilst Pope Sixtus V (1521-1590CE) increased the papal subsidy from 4,000 to 6,000 ducats, this was insufficient to relieve the mission's financial burdens, was only paid during the earlier and later years of Sixtus's papacy, and was reduced back to 4,000 ducats per annum by his successor.¹¹²⁶ Similarly, the *daimyō* couldn't make regular monetary donations because their income was often based in rice and their resources were frequently required for war.¹¹²⁷ Rather than attaining self-sufficiency and enough donations from local communities to pay for the mission's staff as João Paulo Oliveira e Costa asserts,¹¹²⁸ it appears that the mission always faced financial uncertainty.¹¹²⁹ Boxer writes that the total contributions, yearly donations, and revenues from properties in India amounted to 7,700 ducats, necessitating Jesuit involvement in trade, however, even this only produced the total required 12,000 ducats when circumstances were favourable and the income from Europe, Malacca, and India arrived.¹¹³⁰ Pope Gregory XIII permitted the Society in Japan to conduct trade in silk for the charitable

¹¹²⁴ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 102-105; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 116-128; Cooper, "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade," 423-433; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 104-121; Takase, "A Igreja Cristã (Kirishitan) no Japão e os Poderes Unificadores Japoneses nos Séculos XVI e XVII – Kirishitan to tōitsu kenryoku (shōzen)," 189; Takase, *Kirishitan jidai no kenkyū*, 175-229.

¹¹²⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 125.

¹¹²⁶ Massarella, "Envoys and Illusions: the Japanese embassy to Europe, 1582-90, De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium, and the Portuguese viceregal embassy to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1591," 335-336.

¹¹²⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 115-116.

¹¹²⁸ Oliveira e Costa, "The Brotherhoods (*Confrarias*) and Lay Support for the Early Christian Church in Japan," 71.

¹¹²⁹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 124-125.

¹¹³⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 117-118. Trade profits are given in: Takahashi, *Iezusukai no sekai senryaku*, 167.

rather than commercial purposes, although at times they attempted to trade in other goods.¹¹³¹ As noted the use of slaves also reduced some of the Society's financial burdens. The poor financial situation resulted in cuts to the mission including the reduction of the Jesuits' printing operation in 1603, which Valignano had even recommended be closed completely.¹¹³²

Slow communications with Europe and continental Asia created an isolated mission, which after the start of the persecutions was doubly felt as missionaries found themselves divided not only from their superiors abroad, but from each other within the country. Simultaneously, Goa and Rome sought to exert their influence over the mission, which created several setbacks associated with the slowness of communications that hampered the mission's progress. Financially the mission was unable to rely on Europe or the Japanese to provide for its running costs, and although the missionaries expended time and effort in the trade of silk and precious metals, the mission's financial survival remaining precarious.

Conclusions

The missionaries' capabilities and the nature of conversion were shaped by the nature of the mission and its limitations, including: the number of missionary personnel and the ratio of personnel to converts; the language capabilities of both missionaries and converts; the mission's educational resources and publications; the mission's isolation from

¹¹³¹ Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759*, 58.

¹¹³² Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 154.

Europe and Europe's control of the enterprise; and the mission's finances. Here it was proposed that these factors were highly limiting to the mission and conversion, and that efforts to reduce the limitations acting upon the mission were only partially successful. In lieu of the successes of Valignano's reforms, the limits that bore upon the mission at its outset remained at its close.

Despite all this, the mission made converts. If conversion occurs when limitations to conversion and mission are resolved or outweighed by other factors, then it may be suggested that the mission was able to adequately deal with its issues. Nevertheless, models of conversion that place epistemological, conscious change at their centre or which centre conversion around changes in belief at the expenses of change in practice fail to account for a large portion of the conversions experienced in the period. Indeed, the mission's limitations seem to have resulted in an inability on the part of the missionaries to build doctrinal understanding amongst many of their converts.

The next chapter explores why and how conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century took place. It explores communal conversion, missionary approaches to the Japanese, factors which encouraged (or discouraged) people to convert, and post-conversion religious practice. Drawing on the work of Higashibaba, it is argued that for many conversion primarily involved changes to symbology and the supplementation of religious practices with rituals of a Christian origin.

Chapter Four

Conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century

Rethought

The previous chapters have explored the context of conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century, suggesting firstly that conversion was shaped or even controlled by the evolving political context of Japan. In line with rational choice theory, it can be argued that there were times especially after Christianity's proscription when the risks of converting outweighed potential benefits, making it less likely to occur. Conversely there were also times when the missionaries were favoured by individual *daimyō* or the national government,¹¹³³ meaning that political context could act to encourage or at least not hamper conversion. Nevertheless, rational choice theory does not provide a perfect lens to view the influence of political context on conversion as it presupposes that the choice to convert exists. The system of colonial¹¹³⁴ religious control established in early Edo period

¹¹³³ For example, in 1560 the Muromachi *bakufu* issued a notice protecting the missionaries from inappropriate levies and maltreatment, and granting them freedom to preach. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 318.

¹¹³⁴ As defined by Beidelman, Míguez, Rieger, and Sung, and outlined in Chapter 1. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*, 2; Míguez, Rieger, and Mo Sung, *Beyond the Spirit of Empire*, 29.

Japan essentially destroyed such a choice through proscription, punishment, and the end of Japanese-Christian contact. Secondly, it was argued that limitations acting upon the missionaries hampered conversion and shaped post-conversion beliefs and practices. Due to the numerous limitations acting upon the mission, it was suggested that because consumable religious information was not widely available, a whole-scale change in beliefs and epistemology were unlikely, and therefore that conversion for most people indicated a change to membership and practice rather than epistemology. To rephrase this, whilst changes to epistemology occurred, the extent to which they matched the missionaries' expectations and the European model of belief is questionable.

In this chapter, the possible causes of conversion, and the nature of religious practice and belief which followed conversion are explored. The primary focus is conversion amongst ordinary Japanese, rather than the elite whose conversion narratives were recorded in contemporaneous sources. It is argued that the missionary methodology and approaches to the Japanese, encouraged a sort of conversion that centred around external, practice-based religious change rather than internal, belief-oriented change. As such, Higashibaba's thesis that *Kirishitan* practice was marked with engagement in new symbols, but involved little change to the lives of ordinary Japanese is affirmed and expanded upon. The chapter also explores the potential factors that influenced conversion arguing that it was spurred by its potential benefits, Christianity's perceived efficacy, deviance, and most importantly the people in a potential convert's social network.

Communal Conversion and Relationality

Within the spectrum of conversion types prevalent during the Middle Ages existed both individual conversion and communal conversion.¹¹³⁵ In the case that an individual convert was a king or other political leader, communal conversion could ensue when that leader demanded of his subjects or subordinates' adherence to his new religion, and it was in this way that most of Europe was introduced to Christianity.¹¹³⁶ Such a system adhered to the logic of *cuius region, eius religio*.¹¹³⁷ James Muldoon writes:

With the establishment of Christian kingdoms and with the creation of an ideology of Christian kingship, conversion of a kingdom's enemies – as part of either a policy of defense or one of expansion – became a responsibility of the Christian ruler.¹¹³⁸

Such methods and expectations were also employed by the Jesuits in Asia, where mass baptism led to the instantaneous creation of new Christian communities, and could spur real personal change and changes to loyalties.¹¹³⁹ Muldoon notes that baptism was often viewed as only a single stage of the conversion process, to be followed by further periods

¹¹³⁵ Muldoon, "Introduction: The Conversion of Europe," 1-10.

¹¹³⁶ Ibid., 2, 5-8.

¹¹³⁷ Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 328, 386.

¹¹³⁸ Muldoon, "Introduction: The Conversion of Europe," 5.

¹¹³⁹ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 17. Miyazaki notes that communal baptism by itself was insufficient to create epistemological changes, see: Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 58-59.

of instruction.¹¹⁴⁰ Although the Jesuit mission's creation of educational materials and institutions for use by potential and new converts point to the truth of Muldoon's statement, in practice correspondence from the Asian missions betray a vision of conversion in which baptism remained the pinnacle and end point of the process.¹¹⁴¹ Conversion was understood by the missionaries as it had been throughout the Middle Ages, on the one hand baptism was:

a sign of acceptance of a set of core beliefs identifying an individual as a Christian.¹¹⁴²

But on the other hand, the:

identification of an individual as a convert to Christianity was often predicated on purely political factors, without regard to any doctrinal matters or beliefs.¹¹⁴³

Whilst baptism was freely administered, this did not mean that converts were not expected to undergo further internal change and instruction,¹¹⁴⁴ however, in Japan the context of

¹¹⁴⁰ Muldoon, "Introduction: The Conversion of Europe," 8. See also: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 392. The grouping of conversion, instruction, and baptism existed since the early Church and acted to 'socialise new converts into the social and moral rules and belief system of the new group.' Jacobsen, "Identity Formation through Catechetical Teaching in Early Christianity," 207.

¹¹⁴¹ De Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry*, 31.

¹¹⁴² Knobler, "Pseudo-Conversions and Patchwork Pedigrees: The Christianization of Muslim Princes and the Diplomacy of Holy War," 181.

¹¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁴ James D. Ryan convincingly argues that earlier missions to Asia whilst offering baptism freely, sought to couple this with ongoing instruction. Ryan, "Conversion vs. Baptism? European Missionaries in Asia

Sengoku and the lack of missionary personnel meant that some communities went without instruction for years.

In China, the mission sought to convert the elite through whose influence they could in turn convert large numbers of the native population.¹¹⁴⁵ In Japan, the Jesuits also pursued a top-down model of conversion. In a letter to the Fathers and Brothers of the College of Coimbra written in Malacca on June 22nd 1549, Xavier mentions his desire to visit the King of Japan in order to inform him about Christianity.¹¹⁴⁶ Following Xavier's failure to achieve this goal in 1551 and his associated conclusion that the *daimyō* held more power than the national leadership, the Jesuits began concerted efforts to make converts amongst the *daimyō* class.¹¹⁴⁷ The logic of communal conversion necessitated such as a system; through positing a close relationship between communal and religious identity,¹¹⁴⁸ it required that those who held power either relational or political over a community spur the religious change of said community's members. Moreover, although the goal of the missionaries was

in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," 146-167. Missionary accounts from Japan illustrate the use of a similar methodology. Xavier notes in his letter to the Society at Goa (July 1551) that despite the missionaries limited language skills and resources, several hundred were converted near Hirado within a few days. Following this rapid communal conversion, Xavier entrusted Cosme de Torrès (1510-1570CE) with the ongoing care and instruction of the group. This appears to have been common practice, and at the time the missionaries had already left Yajirō in charge of converts in Kagoshima. Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 296-297, 335; Matsūra Shiryō Hakubutsukan ed., *Shito Hirado*, 129. On communal conversion in the period also see: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 330-379.

¹¹⁴⁵ Li, "Jesuit Missionaries and the Transmission of Christianity and European Knowledge in China," 54.

¹¹⁴⁶ Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 179.

¹¹⁴⁷ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 312-314; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 70-71; Fukatsu, "Nihonjin to Kirisutokyō – Kirishitan dendō no baai," 6-7. See also Xavier's account in his Letter to the Society at Goa (July 1551): Coleridge ed., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2, 298-299.

¹¹⁴⁸ The following source on Islam is useful for exploring the intertwined nature of communal and religious identity: DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, 17-27.

to convert the entire population, the limitations acting upon the mission meant that they were required to focus their efforts on converting groups that were more profitable to the mission, namely political leaders who could procure benefits for the mission such as the right to preach in certain locales.¹¹⁴⁹

Some scholars have viewed the conversion of communities by their leadership as coerced or forced.¹¹⁵⁰ As Elisonas notes; through aiming to build political and religious unity, Iberian methods of conversion necessitated the destruction of native religion.¹¹⁵¹ Such an analysis is accurate, however, the value judgements regularly attached to analyses of forced conversion explored in the first chapter of this work, appear to stem from modern conceptualizations of what ought to constitute religious conversion; conceptualizations that exclude coercion, force, and even voluntary communal change as valid forms of religious change. Nevertheless, congruent with such judgements, it is likely that under the logic of *cuius region, eius religio*, that some communal conversions spurred by the conversion of a *daimyō* resulted only in a change of religious affiliation, and not of conviction, amongst his subjects, constituting what contemporary scholars have termed adhesion.¹¹⁵² Unlike conversion classically defined, it is possible for adhesion to result from force and coercion as no change in belief is assumed,¹¹⁵³ however, it is also possible that a change of affiliation

¹¹⁴⁹ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 17.

¹¹⁵⁰ See for instance: Hazama, "Kirishitan shinkō ni miru minshū no shūkyō juyō," 1011.

¹¹⁵¹ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 328.

¹¹⁵² Ikenga-Metuh, "The Shattered Microcosm: A Critical Survey of Explanations of Conversion in Africa," 20; Nock, *Conversion*, 6-7.

¹¹⁵³ Morris, "The Problem of Understanding Conversion: Religious Change and Interfaith Dialogue," 23.

could later spur a change of conviction thereby constituting a conversion.¹¹⁵⁴ This was in fact the crux of the missionaries' methodology which sought first to create outward Christians who through further education would become inwardly Christian too.¹¹⁵⁵ It is therefore important to note that although the missionaries ascribed different values to their converts based on the reasons for their conversion,¹¹⁵⁶ they did not distinguish between conversion and adhesion, rather both types of religious change constituted conversion. As such, although applying the terms "adhesion," "force," and "coercion," is potentially useful to distinguish between the different types of religious change that took place from a modern standpoint, it must be remembered that they do not reflect the contextual understandings of missionary or convert. In fact, Martine De Reu notes in reference to similar conversions that took place in medieval Europe that:

In such a system the question of conviction scarcely arises. Many pagans...allowed themselves to be led to the baptismal font from fear of punishment and hope of reward; the same circumstances persuaded them to conform, outwardly at least, to the demands of Christianity.¹¹⁵⁷

¹¹⁵⁴ Ikenga-Metuh, "The Shattered Microcosm: A Critical Survey of Explanations of Conversion in Africa," 20.

¹¹⁵⁵ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 19.

¹¹⁵⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 78-83.

¹¹⁵⁷ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 24.

De Reu's work also illustrates that the top down model of conversion pursued by the missionaries is more complicated than it first appears. De Reu argues that converting a political leader was not a simple task; leaders were subject to social rules, and therefore required their advisors' and retainers' support to convert.¹¹⁵⁸ Forced conversion also required such support, not only from a given leader's supporters and advisors, but from his subjects, who in a political context that saw regular uprisings, needed supplicating. A *daimyō's* decision to convert might therefore follow the establishment of an already sizeable *Kirishitan* population.¹¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, even if such conversions required a base of support, as Miyazaki notes they were not the result of the voluntary action of a domain's people.¹¹⁶⁰

A *daimyō's* conversion was not always a prerequisite for the conversion of his subjects, which required only his permission or wayward eye,¹¹⁶¹ and communal conversion could take place within geo-political units smaller than that of the domain. It must be assumed that within a context in which the usurping of *daimyō*, peasant resistance and revolt were commonplace, that there were communities willing to disobey their leaders' orders in order to forge new religious and political loyalties.¹¹⁶² Communal conversion was

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 17-18. Elisonas notes that because Ōmura Sumitada converted without his advisors' support, he was subjected to an attempted coup. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 324.

¹¹⁵⁹ For instance, the mission to Bungo (established in 1551) gained sizeable conversions before the conversion of Ōtomo Sōrin in 1578. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 316-318.

¹¹⁶⁰ Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 66.

¹¹⁶¹ Under Xavier the missionaries had gained permission to preach and baptize in the domains of Shimazu Takahisa, Matsūra Takanobu 松浦隆信 (1529-1599CE), Ōuchi Yoshitaka, and Ōtomo Sōrin, but had failed to convert any of these *daimyō*. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 310-318.

¹¹⁶² Elisonas notes that one response to forced conversion was migration. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 328.

relational, grounded in a series of political relationships; *daimyō*-subject, village head-villager, family head-family members etc. Conversion also happened outside of these power relationships occurring relationally between family members, friends, marriage partners etc.¹¹⁶³ Endō Shūsaku highlights that whereas Western conceptions of conversion and religious belief centre around the individual, Japanese epistemologies prioritize ancestor worship (*Sosensūhai* 祖先崇拝).¹¹⁶⁴ As such, it is necessary for familial and societal units rather than individuals to be converted because conversion affects a family's members' posthumous prospects.¹¹⁶⁵ Endō therefore notes that communal conversion was well suited to the Japanese context.¹¹⁶⁶ Robin Horton's words apply well to this situation, he writes:

every...relationship has some modifying effect on all the others, and is in turn modified by them...to the extent that the gods are people, relationships with them affect and are affected by relationships with other men.¹¹⁶⁷

Stark's theory that those who convert are those '*whose interpersonal ties to members [overbalance] their ties to nonmembers*'¹¹⁶⁸ and that conversion is about aligning one's

¹¹⁶³ Refer for example to the relational conversion of Hibiya Monika's family members described in: Konishi, "Jūroku seiki no toshi ni okeru Kirishitan josei: Hibiya Monika to Hosokawa Garasha," 179-180.

¹¹⁶⁴ Endō, "Santa Maria shinkō to Nihonjin no shūkyō ishiki," 16-17.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁷ Horton, "African Conversion," 96.

¹¹⁶⁸ Stark, *Cities of God*, 10.

behaviour with that of one's friends and family,¹¹⁶⁹ therefore, needs reiterating. However, it is necessary when considering the Japanese to expand the series of relationships influencing conversion to include relationships with the ancestors, other deities and spiritual beings. In fact, the logic of communal conversion is predicated precisely on peoples' relationships. *Cuius region, eius religio* and communal conversion assume that a population's ties to its political leader or a community's ties to each other outweigh all other religious and secular ties so that any given community will conform to their leaders' decisions or convert in solidarity with the other members of their community.

Not every conversion in the period stemmed from mass baptism, however, the factor of relationality also played an important role in individual conversions. For conversion to happen a potential convert at the bare minimum must encounter the religion which they subsequently convert to. Lofland and Stark note that for conversion to take place an affective bond must be formed between a religion's members and the potential convert.¹¹⁷⁰ Such a bond they argue must elicit a 'positive, emotional, interpersonal response'¹¹⁷¹ and as such conversion ultimately becomes a matter of accepting 'the opinions of one's friends.'¹¹⁷² This bond may be formed through contact with a missionary, but more often than not is forged through new or pre-existing social networks including friends and

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹¹⁷⁰ Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 871.

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁷² Ibid.

family.¹¹⁷³ Before his conversion, Yajirō had long interacted with the Portuguese in Japan and later on continental Asia.¹¹⁷⁴ Since he had fled Japan, it is also likely that his extra-cult affective bonds¹¹⁷⁵ i.e. his relationships with Japanese friends and family who were not Christian and who may have acted to discourage his conversion, were weak. As such, at the point of his conversion Yajirō's ties to Christians (the Portuguese) outweighed his ties to non-Christians. After the inception of the mission, the first converts, consisting of some 150 persons in Kagoshima,¹¹⁷⁶ were almost exclusively made amongst those who were connected to Yajirō; his friends, family, and community members,¹¹⁷⁷ affirming the importance of the use of pre-existing social networks to spread Christianity. The case of Yajirō and the spread of Christianity through his social networks is not an anomalous example. *Kirishitan daimyō*, Takayama Ukon, converted at the age of 12 in 1564, following the conversion of his father (Takayama Tomoteru 高山友照, ?-1595CE).¹¹⁷⁸ Ukon's conversion was relational spurred by his father's conversion. Tomoteru's conversion was also the result of interaction with Japanese *Kirishitan* and the Jesuits. Originally he opposed the new religion and instigated an investigation into it, however, following the conversion of the lead inquisitors and their conclusion that Christianity was true, Tomoteru himself

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., 871-872; Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 56; Stark, *Cities of God*, 19-20.

¹¹⁷⁴ Bartoli and Maffei, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, 299-304; Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 20-21.

¹¹⁷⁵ Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 872-873.

¹¹⁷⁶ Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 37.

¹¹⁷⁷ Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 1-2.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ebisawa, *Takayama Ukon*, 14-15.

converted.¹¹⁷⁹ Tomoteru spread Christianity to the members of his own household, who became *Kirishitan* through the circumstances of their birth to *Kirishitan* parents.¹¹⁸⁰ Moreover, the family helped introduce other *daimyō* including Gamō Ujisato to Christianity through lines of friendship and family connection.¹¹⁸¹

In summation, two principal types of *Kirishitan* conversion in the period stand out; individual conversion amongst the elite and occasionally the non-elite (such as Yajirō), and communal conversion either sanctioned or permitted by the elite or by those with some relative power such as the leaders of households. Both types were relational occurring either through sustained individual relations with the missionaries or other *Kirishitan*, or through social relations based on the units of domain, town, village, or household. The missionaries as administrators of baptism were at the centre of communal conversion, and although other types of conversion occurred between *Kirishitan* and non-*Kirishitan* Japanese, unless these resulted in the completion of the three-fold process of conversion; conversion, instruction, and baptism,¹¹⁸² they cannot have constituted conversion within the logic of the Jesuit system, although they would be treated as such in official figures and reports.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 11-14; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 319-320.

¹¹⁸⁰ Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon shiwa*, 64-78.

¹¹⁸¹ Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*, 1-2; Cieslik, *Takayama Ukon shiwa*, 152-164; Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 60-61.

¹¹⁸² De Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry, 1510-1610*, 31. The order would be different in the case of a communal conversion; baptism would be followed by instruction and the maturation of belief. Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 393-405.

Most conversion scholars have focused on individual conversion,¹¹⁸³ a trend reflected in scholarship on the *Kirishitan* Century. These converts were named individuals who although not always *daimyō* for the most part held sufficient social status and literacy skills. These were extraordinary people, the subjects of missionary letters, future missionary personnel, and the harbingers of the Christian message in Japan, but as individual rather than communal converts they represented the preeminent minority of the *Kirishitan*. Communal converts in contrast are not treated beyond the supply of their numbers, the 100 baptized at Hirado,¹¹⁸⁴ the 500 in Yamaguchi,¹¹⁸⁵ the 1,300 of Ikitsuki and Takushima 度島,¹¹⁸⁶ and so on. This limited treatment has been carried into scholarship on the period, which through focusing on a preeminent minority of converts provides a false image of conversion and Japanese Christianity.

Factors in Conversion

Fujiwara argues that most converts in the *Kirishitan* Century were drawn from the lower classes; peasants, craftsmen, merchants, and low-ranking warriors.¹¹⁸⁷ This seems likely given the nature of top-down communal conversion, which relies on mass conversions ensuing from a leader's conversion. Nevertheless, as Stark notes of early Christianity; the

¹¹⁸³ Muldoon, "Introduction: The Conversion of Europe," 2-3.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 26; Hiradoshi Shihensan linkai ed., *Daikōkaijidai no bōkenshatachi*, 41-42; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no Kirishitan*, 9.

¹¹⁸⁵ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 314.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 322.

¹¹⁸⁷ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 171.

ruling classes were disproportionately attracted to the new religion.¹¹⁸⁸ So too in the *Kirishitan* Century were the *daimyō* disproportionately represented with at least 9% of *daimyō* becoming converts¹¹⁸⁹ compared to between 1.4% and 5% of the general population. This is not inconsistent with Fujiwara's statement, as the conversion of the upper classes presupposed the conversion of their more numerous subjects. Stark's words may be applied here:

The point is that early Christianity substantially *over*-recruited the privileged, not that it only recruited them, or even that most early Christians were well-off.¹¹⁹⁰

Beyond the relational aspect of communal conversion explored above, whereby the lower classes followed the decision of their leaders, friends, or family to convert due to their social bonds and obligations, it is difficult to assess the causes of conversion amongst the lower classes. Nevertheless, it would be reductionist to suggest that it was only relationality that

¹¹⁸⁸ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 7.

¹¹⁸⁹ The calculation used here is imperfect, but helps to highlight the disproportionate number of conversions amongst the privileged. Berry notes the existence of approximately 120 *daimyō* during *Sengoku Jidai*, although this number changed over time as new *daimyō* emerged and others were killed or lost their power. Cieslik notes the existence of 11 important *Kirishitan daimyō*, although this figure excludes their descendants, a number of *daimyō* converts including Tsutsui Sadatsugu 筒井定次 (1562-1615CE), and minor, land holding, *daimyō*-esque figures. Taking Berry's figure as the maximum number of *daimyō* in existence at one time, and Cieslik's figure as the minimum number of *Kirishitan daimyō* at the peak of the mission, the figure of 11 was taken as a percentage of 120, providing the calculation of 9.16%. Other scholars have recorded much higher numbers of *Kirishitan daimyō* with some suggesting as many as 61 or 84 converted. Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 26; Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 49-140; Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 62.

¹¹⁹⁰ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 7.

spurred their conversions. On the other hand, the reasons for the conversion of the upper classes, those preeminent individuals who constitute the subject of many missionary letters and academic treatises, may be explored with greater ease. These individuals converted for multiple reasons; economic, political, and epistemological.¹¹⁹¹

Ebisawa writes that although the conversion of the *daimyō* in Kyushu is often linked to the influence of Iberian trade, the issue of conversion is much more complicated than this single issue.¹¹⁹² Nevertheless, the importance of the influence of potential economic and political gain cannot be dismissed. Stark notes that religions can provide direct rewards to members, including status, income, self-esteem, and improvements in social relations.¹¹⁹³ Rational choice theorists like Stark posit that people seek to maximize potential benefits in decision making processes,¹¹⁹⁴ and therefore argue that direct rewards provide a potential motivation for conversion. *Daimyō* were encouraged to convert and forcefully convert their populations in exchange for the economic benefits of Portuguese trade.¹¹⁹⁵ Such converts benefitted economically from their involvements with the

¹¹⁹¹ Yūki, *Kirishitan ni natta daimyo*, 22-24.

¹¹⁹² Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitan shi*, 22.

¹¹⁹³ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 36.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 169-172.

¹¹⁹⁵ Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 67.

Jesuits,¹¹⁹⁶ however, this was not an incentive for all *daimyō* converts¹¹⁹⁷ and some such as Matsūra Takanobu 松浦隆信 (1529-1599), who benefitted economically, did not convert.¹¹⁹⁸ If economic benefit could be gained without conversion there must have been other factors that influenced conversion. This does not necessarily mean that economic gain was not an incentive; a potential convert may have perceived that conversion increased chances to procure profit, or conversion may have been necessary to increase and sustain the initial benefits gained from trade.¹¹⁹⁹ It could be argued that the fact that some *daimyō* converted whilst others failed to, reflected the different ways that *daimyō* evaluated the costs and benefits of religious and economic decisions.¹²⁰⁰ In any case, economic incentive was likely a driving force behind conversion amongst the *daimyō* and merchant classes when coupled with other factors. Moreover, as the Portuguese expected the Jesuits to foster a friendly environment for trade through supporting traders and converting their trade partners,¹²⁰¹ economic and Portuguese commercial concerns were at the centre of

¹¹⁹⁶ According to Jesuit accounts Ōtomo Sōrin made large financial gains from his association with Christianity even though Portuguese ships rarely visited ports in his domain. Another example was the provision of Arima Harunobu with arms and munitions, which allowed his domain to avoid destruction following invasion by Ryūzōji Takanobu 龍造寺隆信 (1530-1584CE) in 1580. Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 317, 333-334.

¹¹⁹⁷ Gamō Ujisato, for instance, seems to have been influenced more by his *Kirishitan* peers than potential economic benefit. Urakawa, *Tōhoku Kirishitanshi*, 1-16; Yamauchi, *Aizu no Kirishitan: Kashindan no dendō setsugen no junkyō*, 10-12; Kojima, *Aizu Kirishitan monogatari*, 28-32.

¹¹⁹⁸ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 310, 321-323, 325-326; Okada, *Kirishitan daimyō*, 83-84.

¹¹⁹⁹ Murray Last argues that conversion to Islam in Hausaland is a means to grow and sustain businesses. Last, "Some Economic Aspects of Conversion in Hausaland (Nigeria)," 236-246.

¹²⁰⁰ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 170-171.

¹²⁰¹ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 321.

the apparatus of conversion. At the bare minimum, trade fostered interaction with Catholics and Catholicism, a necessary step towards becoming *Kirishitan*.¹²⁰²

Intertwined with economic gain, the potential of political gain may have also formed a motivation for conversion. Petts notes that in the medieval period some leaders converted in order to forge alliances with powerful individuals.¹²⁰³ Similarly, in Japan a *daimyō*'s conversion opened him not only to potential economic benefit, but to political association with Portugal and her colonies, bringing the potential of further economic, political, and military benefits and costs. Nevertheless, no *daimyō* benefitted from direct Portuguese military assistance, and to the disappointment of some of the Jesuit leadership the *Kirishitan daimyō* failed to ally themselves with each other.¹²⁰⁴ As was the case in Europe, the partnership and cooperation between *Kirishitan daimyō* and the Church allowed both parties to establish 'long-term domination over subjects and believers.'¹²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the perceived political association of *Kirishitan daimyō* with European powers became a possible disincentive for conversion following the ban of Christianity.¹²⁰⁶ On a macrocontextual level, the potential political benefits of conversion are therefore obscure. Political motivation is perhaps better applied to domainal retainers, *bushi* 武士 (warriors)

¹²⁰² Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 864, 874.

¹²⁰³ Petts, *Pagan and Christian: Religious Change in Early Medieval Europe*, 22.

¹²⁰⁴ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 352.

¹²⁰⁵ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 23.

¹²⁰⁶ As noted, concerns that the *Kirishitan* may ally with foreign powers were central to the banning of Christianity. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 59.

and the general public,¹²⁰⁷ who through following the conversion of their *daimyō* or perhaps even pre-empting it, reaffirmed and repositioned their own religious and political allegiances, which in turn could influence their own status, political favour and social relations. People could refuse conversion as prescribed by their *daimyō* or local leader, however, the acceptance of such demands was also a political statement that not only validated the leader's position, but also illustrated the converts' loyalty to their leader. In this sense, conversion and non-conversion were not only 'primarily an act of conformity',¹²⁰⁸ but also acts of solidarity, loyalty, political repositioning and manoeuvring.

Stark writes that wealth and power are insufficient to satisfy all human needs.¹²⁰⁹ As such he suggests that whilst people may 'adopt supernatural solutions to their *thwarted material desires*'¹²¹⁰ they also apply such solutions '*to their thwarted existential and moral desires*.'¹²¹¹ The wealthy and powerful, Stark argues, are not only more susceptible to their existential and moral dissatisfaction because they lack the distraction of being materially lacking, but are also freer to act on their dissatisfaction and desires than the poor.¹²¹² Although these observations do not constitute reasons for conversion, they are essential

¹²⁰⁷ Edo period society consisted of a hierarchy of occupational social classes based on a neo-Confucian model. At the peak of this hierarchy were the warriors (*shi* 士), followed by peasants (*nōmin* 農民), then artisans (*shokunin* 職人), and merchants (*shōnin* 商人). Other categories including the nobility (*Kuge* 公家), the *eta* 穢多 and *hinin* 非人 (those in unclean professions, ex-convicts etc.), and priests and physicians (who held the same status as warriors) also existed. Morgan, *Compellence and the Strategic Culture of Imperial Japan: Implications for Coercive Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century*, 49-50 and 72, n. 67.

¹²⁰⁸ Stark, *Cities of God*, 11.

¹²⁰⁹ Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 13-14.

¹²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹²¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹²¹² *Ibid.*

for explaining the disproportionate conversion of the wealthy. At the centre of these observations is the concept that people convert following the development of some sort of:

tension, strain, frustration, deprivation, or other version of hedonic calculus...a felt discrepancy between some imaginary ideal state of affairs and the circumstances in which...people [see] themselves caught up.¹²¹³

As noted in Chapter One, tension may be reread by converts into their past,¹²¹⁴ and it is difficult to assess whether tension was experienced by most converts in the period as their conversion narratives remain unrecorded. For Lofland and Stark, tension is experienced by a significant proportion of any given general population, but is felt more severely by those who convert.¹²¹⁵ Although Snow and Phillips provide corroborative evidence that tension is felt by a significant number of any population, they also provide evidence to suggest that people may convert without experiencing pre-existing strains.¹²¹⁶ Notwithstanding this exception, the mass of literature that links feelings of tension to conversion explored in Chapter One suggests that this is an important factor in some conversions. Since few records exist on ordinary converts, the role of tension in conversion during the *Kirishitan*

¹²¹³ Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 865.

¹²¹⁴ Snow and Phillips, "The Lofland-Stark Conversion: A Critical Reassessment," 433-435.

¹²¹⁵ Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 867.

¹²¹⁶ Snow and Phillips, "The Lofland-Stark Conversion: A Critical Reassessment," 434-435.

Century can only be explored speculatively. Nevertheless, even a speculative exploration of tension may provide some general insights into conversion in the period. It is a certainty that some converts experienced their own individual tensions, as individuals in any society will experience tensions (material, social, and spiritual) in their ordinary lives. There were also overarching tensions during the period that affected all members of society including the breakdown of centralized authority, civil war, revolts, the weakening of traditional religions, and the arrival of European powers. It is likely that some people searching for a resolution to their individual tensions or for greater certainty regarding their futures (in a period when the future was uncertain), found the resolution in conversion to Christianity. One example of a conversion that illustrates the importance of tension is that of *Kirishitan daimyō*, Ōtomo Sōrin. Marital troubles led Sōrin to have an affair and abandon his first wife.¹²¹⁷ His new partner converted to Christianity, Sōrin followed suit and the two were married.¹²¹⁸ Sōrin's conversion illustrates several themes elucidated here. Firstly, he was experiencing personal tensions related to his marriage prior to his conversion. Secondly, his second wife converted first, illustrating an aspect of relationality. By marrying Sōrin and his partner (Julia), and by mitigating the scandalous affair through their justification and defence of Sōrin's actions, the Jesuits provided a method to escape the tension caused by his marital problems.¹²¹⁹ Whether Christianity offered only the practical means to end

¹²¹⁷ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 335-336.

¹²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 336.

¹²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Sōrin's marital problems or a deeper, multi-levelled resolution to his tensions, tension clearly played a role in his conversion and likely in those of others too.

Conversion not only affected economic and political position, or resolved tension; it could offer various rewards both spiritual and mundane. Spiritually Christianity offered an alternative system of meaning, a new epistemology, and other worldly salvation, which were potentially attractive to those groping for religious meaning in a context of secular and religious insecurity. On the non-spiritual rewards of conversion, Stark notes that when a religion asks a lot of its members, it can use those resources to give more greatly.¹²²⁰ The Christian demands to care for the sick, love each other, and follow stricter moral codes, result in members being cared for when they are sick, becoming the recipients of fellow converts' love, and benefitting from things such as greater stability in marriage due to proscriptions on sexual promiscuity.¹²²¹ The mission and Christianity also offered a number of non-reciprocal benefits including access to Western education, health care, and other services.¹²²² For some individuals, Christianity also likely fulfilled basic spiritual and human needs such as providing a sense of belonging to a community or increasing self-esteem. In a similar way to the potential economic benefits that *daimyō* were opened to through conversion, the manifold spiritual and mundane benefits of conversion made Christianity attractive to many people.

¹²²⁰ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 188.

¹²²¹ Ibid.

¹²²² The missionaries supplied Western knowledge as well as technological knowledge relating to printing, weaponry, music, brewing etc. Such knowledge and technology was exotic within the Japanese context. Miyazaki, *Senpuku Kirishitan wa nani o shinjite ita no ka*, 90-93.

Numerous studies by Jesse Bering have illustrated that far from being culturally indoctrinated, religious explanations and belief are natural; that all people whether theistic or atheistic have a tendency to view life events teleologically and as caused by some sort of agent, and that such tendencies help to govern behaviour.¹²²³ In a similar vein, Lofland and Stark note that converts have '*a general propensity to impose religious meaning on events.*'¹²²⁴ They moreover observed that prior to conversion all converts in their study conceived of life in teleological terms and believed in the existence of some sort of governing agent.¹²²⁵ In light of Bering's work these observations illustrate little more than the fact that the converts in Lofland and Stark's studies are humans, however, because humans are apt to impose religious meaning onto events it is of little surprise that the conversion process often involves the potential convert making recourse to external supernatural proofs and signs (supernatural explanations for seemingly inexplicable events or developments). De Reu, for instance, notes that in the early medieval period rulers and their advisors awaited convincing signs such as victory in battle before finally deciding to convert.¹²²⁶ Moreover, leaders tested Christianity by baptizing some of their children before

¹²²³ Bering, "The Cognitive Psychology of Belief in the Supernatural: Belief in a deity or an afterlife could be an evolutionarily advantageous by-product of people's ability to reason about the minds of others," 142-149; Bering, "Atheism is only skin deep: Geertz and Markússon rely mistakenly on sociodemographic data as meaningful indicators of underlying cognition," 166-168; Heywood and Bering, " 'Meant to be': how religious beliefs and cultural religiosity affect the implicit bias to think teleologically," 183-201; Piazza, Bering, and Ingram, " 'Princess Alice is watching you': Children's belief in an invisible person inhibits cheating," 311-320.

¹²²⁴ Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," 868.

¹²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 869.

¹²²⁶ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 18.

embracing it themselves.¹²²⁷ This also appears to have been the case in Japan, for instance Sōrin's second son, Chikaie 親家 (1561-1641CE), was baptized at the age of 14 in 1575 three years prior to his father's conversion.¹²²⁸ This phenomenon has little to do with the religion's doctrinal appeal, as Stark notes, attachment to doctrine is usually formed following conversion.¹²²⁹ Rather, supernatural signs and proofs were a final step towards conversion which acted to prove the religion's efficacy.¹²³⁰ Religion is after all primarily about the supernatural rather than the potential material and secular benefits that it may offer, and therefore the providing of evidence for the efficacy of supernatural claims is an important step in the conversion process. Nevertheless, for supernatural proofs and signs to contribute towards a person's conversion to Christianity, that person must associate said proofs and signs with Christianity rather than another set of religious truth claims, and this presupposes some familiarity with Christianity.

De Reu's study places importance on supernatural interpretations of events for pre-empting and confirming the decisions of rulers to convert,¹²³¹ however, supernatural confirmation was also important for ordinary converts both as part of the conversion process and for remaining converted. Cary, for instance, records that Xavier presented an

¹²²⁷ Ibid.

¹²²⁸ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 335.

¹²²⁹ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 14-15.

¹²³⁰ De Reu notes that this followed interaction with missionaries, interaction with other Christian acquaintances (such as wives, slaves and traders), and discussion between a ruler and his nobles. De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 18.

¹²³¹ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 18.

image of Mary and a scourge to converts in Hirado to be used for healing.¹²³² Consequently, many people visited the converts in hopes of benefitting from the items' healing qualities.¹²³³ The visitors, whether converts or the yet to be converted, were thereby offered a chance to confirm Christianity's efficacy. Per contemporaneous reports this sort of practice allowed people to keep their faith whilst missionaries were absent for long periods.¹²³⁴ Higashibaba notes the importance of symbols for the *Kirishitan*, arguing that engagement with Christian symbols was 'motivated by...belief in and expectation of the symbols' power of healing and protection,'¹²³⁵ but also by the lack of theological instruction available to converts.¹²³⁶ He records several accounts of non-*Kirishitan* being encouraged by lay believers to partake in Christian symbols for the purpose of healing¹²³⁷ and quotes the testimony of Giovanni Battista de Monte (1528-1587) who wrote that:

*the idea spreads among pagans that the sick must come to our church, not their church, to recover from illness.*¹²³⁸

¹²³² Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 38.

¹²³³ Ibid. See also: Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, xiv-xv.

¹²³⁴ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, xv.

¹²³⁵ Ibid., 32.

¹²³⁶ Ibid., 34.

¹²³⁷ Ibid., 31-33.

¹²³⁸ Ibid., 33. Originally from Giovanni Battista de Monte's letter from Funai (December 1564), printed in: Frois, *Furoisu Nihonshi 7: Bungo hen II*, 30-31.

If Christian healing proved to be efficacious for non-*Kirishitan* consumers it is likely that some chose to convert. To summarize, although it is unlikely that supernatural proofs and signs alone led to conversion, it appears that they played an important role in introducing people to Christianity, dispelling aspersions regarding conversion, and through providing evidence of Christianity's efficacy aided in the process of conversion.

It is important to ask why ordinary people continued to convert following Christianity's proscription, when conversion might result in imprisonment or death. For Stark, the value of religious compensators is grounded in social interaction.¹²³⁹ As such, a religious compensator is likely to be perceived as less risky and more valuable '*when it is promoted, produced, or consumed collectively*'¹²⁴⁰ and when evidence exists to suggest that participation creates tangible benefits that are not '*readily explained in secular terms.*'¹²⁴¹ Attesting to the relational nature of conversion he notes that when evidence (a testimonial) is provided by a person within the potential convert's social network it tends to be more persuasive.¹²⁴² As is the case when the person providing evidence has little to gain or a lot to lose by doing so.¹²⁴³ Stark provides the following postulations. Firstly:

¹²³⁹ Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 172.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁴¹ Ibid., 173.

¹²⁴² Ibid., 173-174.

¹²⁴³ Ibid., 174.

*Religious leaders have greater credibility when they receive low levels of material reward in return for their religious services.*¹²⁴⁴

Secondly:

*Martyrs are the most credible exponents of the value of a religion, and this is especially true if there is a voluntary aspect to their martyrdom.*¹²⁴⁵

Stark notes that martyrdom places the highest possible value on a religion and communicates this value to others.¹²⁴⁶ Linked to this is the fact that demands of sacrifice and stigma, whether these involve a large level of commitment like martyrdom or only minimal commitment like changes to behaviour or dress, lead to greater levels of commitment and participation.¹²⁴⁷ The factors of sacrifice and stigma, as well as the credibility of missionaries and other *Kirishitan* witnesses,¹²⁴⁸ likely also influenced conversion prior to the ban of Christianity, when *Kirishitan* were demarked by different

¹²⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid. 177.

¹²⁴⁸ For instance, the disproportionate conversion of the wealthy and powerful likely helped to spread the religion in ways beyond prescribed communal conversion. Stark notes that the privileged are visible, influential, experienced, have economic means and often display a tendency to believe that they have the knowledge and perhaps even duty to change the world. Attempts by the privileged to spread a religion are more efficacious than attempts by the underprivileged due to the influence and experience the privileged person already holds. Even if a privileged convert makes no effort to make further converts, their conversion provides the religion with greater credibility and visibility. Stark, "Early Christianity: Opiate of the Privileged?" 14.

practices and behavioural codes.¹²⁴⁹ In Stark's framework, the demands to adopt such practices at the expense of traditional Japanese practices and understandings assisted in making those who sought to convince others to convert more persuasive. Following the beginning of the persecution, martyrs became the ultimate testimony to the faith, and if Stark's framework is accepted the most persuasive exponents of the religion. The aforementioned large number of martyrological works attests to the important place that martyrs were ascribed, and to the centrality of martyrological narratives in *Kirishitan* testimonials. Those spreading Christianity whether they were missionaries or ordinary people benefitted from the sacrifice of the martyrs as it made their message more credible. Although there were risks associated with conversion including imprisonment, torture, and death (following the genesis of the persecution), throughout the 1610s and early 1620s most *Kirishitan* appear to have been exempt from such cruelties and generally experienced less risk than the missionaries or high ranking *Kirishitan*.¹²⁵⁰ It was only when the *bakufu* hardened their measures to eradicate Christianity, when the religious took their faith into hiding, and the missionaries ceased to come, that the creation of new converts became untenable. The persecution of Christianity thereby helped it to spread because martyrdom and Christian suffering made the Christian message more credible. Nevertheless, increased

¹²⁴⁹ The Jesuits' model of conversion presupposed that a convert spurned previous religious beliefs and practices meaning that conversion was sacrificial and potentially a cause of stigma. De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 13; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 61.

¹²⁵⁰ Of the 2,128 martyrs recorded by Boxer, 71 were European missionary staff. He does not note how many of the Japanese martyrs were missionary staff, however, his figures suggest that missionary staff were more likely to be martyred than ordinary *Kirishitan*. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 448.

credibility is not grounds for conversion, it aided conversion whilst martyrdom remained a risk only for the minority of believers, however, Christianity continued to spread through social networks, the resolution of tensions, its spiritual and secular benefits, and communal baptism.

Another possible explanation for continued conversion following the proscription of Christianity revolves around the concept of deviance. As Dennis J. Parrucci writes:

It is possible to speak of conversion to a “deviant role” in those instances where the convert identifies with a socio-religious group, the normative prescriptions and proscriptions of which deviate significantly from those advocated by the more conventional socio-religious bodies. Another possibility would be to consider the act itself as deviant.¹²⁵¹

Parrucci notes two types of deviant behaviour which are oriented either collectivistically or individualistically.¹²⁵² As an individualistic orientation results in the validation of the dominant social order,¹²⁵³ it cannot be applied to the conversion in Japan wherein Christianity deviated from the norms of the mainstream incurring large costs on those who

¹²⁵¹ Parrucci, “Religious Conversion: A Theory of Deviant Behavior,” 144.

¹²⁵² Ibid., 147-148.

¹²⁵³ Ibid., 148.

adhered to it,¹²⁵⁴ although it may explain processes of non-conversion and apostasy.

Parrucci defines a collectivist orientation as:

that orientation assumed by a deviant wherein, because...he places the primary responsibility for his current socio-psychological situation within the social order (existing institutional arrangements), he withdraws legitimacy from established social norms and seeks collective support. Thus, he achieves reassurance, security, and validation for a frame of reference to which his immediate circle of relationships is relatively hostile and disapproving.¹²⁵⁵

For Parrucci all societies to some degree induce stress in so far as its members are 'confronted with socio-culturally stressful situations.'¹²⁵⁶ This was no different in *Sengoku* and early Edo period Japan where a variety of socio-political uncertainties were at play.

For Parrucci societal integration is marked by the degree to which members share beliefs, interact with each other, and hold 'a sense of devotion to common goals.'¹²⁵⁷ During the early Edo period, Japanese society moved to a position of greater integration as engineered by the early Edo period rulers. This was achieved through colonial measures or in Parrucci's terminology societal regulation, which:

¹²⁵⁴ Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 24; Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 124.

¹²⁵⁵ Parrucci, "Religious Conversion: A Theory of Deviant Behavior," 148.

¹²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

exists to the extent that the social system possesses a functionally efficient normative system – that is, the extent to which the system brings behaviour, individual or collective, in accordance with a normative system characterized by clarity and a paucity of ambiguity and ambivalence.¹²⁵⁸

Parrucci argues that deviant behaviour is a reaction to perceived stress noting correlation between stress and deviant behaviour.¹²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, he also notes the individuality of potential responses to perceived stress which range between conformity on the one hand, and religious, political and criminal deviance on the other.¹²⁶⁰ During the *Sengoku* period, Japanese society lacked integration and regulation, whereas during the early Edo period, society was marked by low integration and high regulation. Under the *bakufu*, integration was established through regulation and increasing societal stability. For Parrucci, low integration leads to collectivist orientations and therefore to conversion.¹²⁶¹ Similarly, low levels of regulation provide greater opportunity to convert.¹²⁶² In contrast, high regulation, restricting as it is of human behaviour, fosters only minimal ideological and affiliatory change, whereas high integration tends to lead to the reinforcement of identification.¹²⁶³

¹²⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁵⁹ Ibid., 149-150.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁶¹ Ibid., 152.

¹²⁶² Ibid.

¹²⁶³ Ibid.

As Japanese society was in a state of low integration during the *Sengoku* and early Edo periods it can be argued that conversion acted as a means to address resultant societally induced stress. Once Japanese society entered a state of high integration and high regulation, conversion ceased to be a valid behaviour to deal with societal stress due to societal regulation and Christianity's radical dissimilarity to Edo period socially engineered epistemologies.

Other scholars have also explored conversion as a deviant behaviour. For Stephen A. Kent exploring conversion to NRMs in the 1970s, conversion can stem from '*a crisis of means* within the political counterculture.'¹²⁶⁴ Conversion is a method to address thwarted political hopes, however, unlike political deviance, conversion to NRMs '*changed the focus of discontent* from society to individual'¹²⁶⁵ allowing people to adopt new means to achieve the same ends. Involvement in NRMs allowed members to:

lessen the demands of compliance by developing...an alternative system of exchange rewards.¹²⁶⁶

Moreover, it allowed disenchanted political activists to reduce the discord that stemmed from their involvement in a social movement which demanded higher costs than

¹²⁶⁴ Kent, "Slogan Chanters to Mantra Chanters: A Mertonian Deviance Analysis of Conversion to Religiously Ideological Organizations in the Early 1970s," 106.

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid., 110.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid., 113.

rewards.¹²⁶⁷ Although only a tentative link may be drawn, the changing political context of *Kirishitan* Century Japan likely had similar effects to the political disenchantment of the late 1960s and early 1970s explored in Kent's study. The gradual unification of Japan quashed the political aspirations of those domains that were opposed to Oda, Toyotomi, and Tokugawa rule. Moreover, as socio-political stability increased, the opportunity for ordinary people to effect personal or collective political change through *gekokuujō*, revolt, migration, or other forms of political deviance was diminished, necessitating a search for other avenues of deviant expression. Conversion had less potential costs and more rewards than continued political deviance, at least during the early persecutory period.¹²⁶⁸ As such, Kent's work potentially aids in explaining why people continued to convert following the religion's proscription; to address discontent associated with the thwarting of their political desires.

Control theorists propose another way of viewing deviance, Stark writes:

rather than arguing that people are driven to compensate for various deprivations, control theory postulates that people conform when they believe they have more to lose being detected in deviance than they stand to gain from the deviant act.¹²⁶⁹

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid., 114.

¹²⁶⁸ As discussed in chapter two, the elimination of political enemies such as Hideyori's forces at the Siege of Osaka often took over precedence anti-*Kirishitan* policy.

¹²⁶⁹ Stark, *The Rise of Mormonism*, 62.

He uses this theory to strengthen the case that conversion is relational noting that strong human attachments spur conformity, whereas a lack of attachments increases the likelihood that a person will act deviantly.¹²⁷⁰ During the *Kirishitan* Century, anti-*Kirishitan* persecution led the potential costs of conversion or adherence to outweigh the potential benefits of being a *Kirishitan*, making conformity to Edo period norms, if only externally, more viable than deviance. Stark and Bainbridge note that certain conditions may influence the potential costs of conversion, including the extent to which a society punishes religious deviance, the tension experienced by the convert, and the organization's attempts to hide deviance.¹²⁷¹ In Japan, the potential costs of converting and remaining converted were significantly increased by a religious policy that punished religious deviance. Stark and Bainbridge note that in societies that lack coercion,¹²⁷² tension tends not to play an important role in conversion, whereas in societies where some sort of coercion exists tension becomes a contributory factor.¹²⁷³ They note that the development of a repressive state increases the need for efficacious compensators and as such tendencies towards conversion and cult formation are increased.¹²⁷⁴ The creation of the Edo period hegemony, therefore, likely contributed to conversion. Nevertheless, Stark and Bainbridge also note that when a society applies coercion to deviant religious groups the tendency for people to

¹²⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁷¹ Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 205.

¹²⁷² Defined by Stark and Bainbridge as 'the interaction strategy of threatening to inflict great costs on others, thereby imposing on them exchange ratios which are below market value.' Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 78.

¹²⁷³ Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, 206.

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid.

join or to form such groups is diminished because the potential costs of membership and the value of desired rewards for deviancy are increased.¹²⁷⁵ Moreover, coercion restricts 'the range of persons likely to join deviant religious organizations.'¹²⁷⁶ Congruent with foregoing conclusions, it appears that whilst the *bakufu* was consolidating power and applying coercion to political enemies, the establishment of a coercive state apparatus encouraged conversion, however, once power was consolidated and coercion applied to deviant religious expression, the likeliness of conversion decreased.

The potential factors that influenced conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century are manifold, they included economic, political, spiritual, and material pulls, supernatural signs, tension, and deviance, however, potential factors cannot be confined to the categories outlined alone. Indeed, in any conversion an array of factors both encourage and hamper the processes of religious change. Moreover, the factors influencing each convert vary not only in their presence, but in the degree of their severity. Despite this, the categories outlined above help to elucidate the processes that took place during the *Kirishitan* Century, and may be applied to many converts of varying socio-economic, religious, and political backgrounds. Due to the sparsity of details that one can garner on the conversion of ordinary people within contemporaneous documents, it is difficult to definitively assert the factors at play, however, the factors outlined above appear to have played some role in conversions in the period. It is also difficult to assess why people continued to convert

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

following the proscription of Christianity, but Stark's exploration of martyrdom and credibility, and understanding conversion as a deviant behaviour, aid in explaining why conversion continued to take place.

Missionary Approaches and the Nature of Conversion

Missionary approaches to Japan and the Japanese affected both the nature of conversion and post-conversion life. Approaches to the Japanese have been categorized as adaptational, confrontational, or purist.¹²⁷⁷ Romanticism and lionization have often led to disproportionate focus on the so-called "adaptational" or "accommodative" approach. Some scholars have portrayed Xavier as an adaptationalist noting that he insisted on vernacular translations (marking a break with the *tabula rasa* approach to mission)¹²⁷⁸ and that he laid down the foundations of the Jesuit tripartite method of adaptation, fidelity to Catholic Orthodoxy, and discipline.¹²⁷⁹ However, it must be remembered that the mission not only maintained internal diversity, but was marked for much of its existence by the belief that the destruction of indigenous religious practices was warranted.¹²⁸⁰ For example, Ōmura Sumitada forced all his vassals and subjects to convert, persecuting Buddhism and

¹²⁷⁷ Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, 132-133, 145; Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 198-203.

¹²⁷⁸ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 20; Ross, "Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East," 324; Bernard-Maitre, "Saint François Xavier et la mission du Japon jusqu'en 1614," 278-85; Wiessala, *European Studies in Asia*, 63.

¹²⁷⁹ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2, 70.

¹²⁸⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 131.

Shinto from 1574; Amakusa Shigehisa 天草鎮尚 (?-1582CE)¹²⁸¹ forced Buddhist priests unwilling to convert into exile and destroyed the temples in his domains following his conversion in 1577; and three years later Arima Harunobu followed suit.¹²⁸² The destruction of indigenous institutions was likely an influential factor in the conversion of ordinary people. Such destruction was linked to the methods of communal conversion and *cuius region, eius religio*, but like many medieval missions was also derived from the fact that religious change was being spurred from external centres of religion and political power,¹²⁸³ which required that both personal religious changes and wider political, social, and epistemological changes take place. David Petts notes that the idea that Christianity is introduced from the outside was foundational in contemporaneous missionary thought, and that as such:

the spread of Christianity might be interpreted as an essentially colonial project; with the promotion and extension of existing networks of secular and ecclesiastical power into new areas.¹²⁸⁴

¹²⁸¹ Biographical details are included in: Cieslik, *Kirishitan shikō*, 70-76.

¹²⁸² Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 327-328, 333-334. Cabral, "Coppie d'une lettre escripte du P. François Gabriel Superieur de la Compagnie du nom de Iesus au Iappon," 13-15; Kanda, *Shimabara no ran*, 76-80. Anti-Buddhist persecutions also took place in the Bungo. Katō, *Bateren to Sōrin no Jidai*, 325-332.

¹²⁸³ Petts, *Pagan and Christian*, 19.

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid.

In fact, on contemporaneous Iberian missionary practice Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi writes that:

the popes granted to the kings of Portugal the full right to conquer territories, and at the same time to bring the Christian faith into these newly conquered spaces. Territorial conquest thus functioned simultaneously as a political and religious enterprise.¹²⁸⁵

The mission should not be reduced to a mere extension of Iberian political enterprise as the relations between the mission and the Iberian nations were complex.¹²⁸⁶ These relations were not always harmonious, and there were times when the Portuguese worked against the missionaries. For example, during the persecutions the Portuguese attempted to end the smuggling of priests¹²⁸⁷ illustrating the value Portugal placed on profit over religious salvation. Nevertheless, as part of the Iberian colonial enterprise the missionaries used European and Christian constructs to categorize the non-European and non-Christian, trivializing traditional religious and secular modes of life¹²⁸⁸ and providing the justification to destroy these traditions and practices.

¹²⁸⁵ Mudimbe-Boyi, "Missionary writing and postcolonialism," 81.

¹²⁸⁶ Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia*, 9.

¹²⁸⁷ Boxer, "The Swan Song of the Portuguese in Japan, 1635-39," 4-11.

¹²⁸⁸ Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*, 1, 4.

In Fujita and Fujiwara's analysis the missionaries who adopted a confrontational approach were those who propagated European modes of secular and religious life.¹²⁸⁹ However, adaptational policies also sought to replace Japanese secular and religious life with European models. Valignano is credited with orienting the mission towards a policy of accommodation.¹²⁹⁰ In his words:

since they [the Japanese] will not change their things, we are the ones to accommodate to them...¹²⁹¹

Joan-Pau Rubiés argues that the policy of accommodation developed from both the conception of the Chinese and Japanese as more rational and "civilized" than other

¹²⁸⁹ Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, 132-133; Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 198-203.

¹²⁹⁰ Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 244-245.

¹²⁹¹ Quoted in: Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570-1610: Expectations and appraisals of expansionism*, 51. Originally in: Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas del Japón (1583)*, 211.

Asians¹²⁹² and the fact that the Portuguese controlled little territory in Asia.¹²⁹³ Other factors including the testing of missiological methods by 13th and 14th Century missionaries to Asia,¹²⁹⁴ the Jesuit *Constitutions* which 'laid down no set dress and prescribed adaptation to the local situation,'¹²⁹⁵ and a tradition of liturgical compromise spanning back to the early Church,¹²⁹⁶ also contributed to the policy's genesis.

Accommodation as developed by Valignano assumed that:

to facilitate religious conversions, one could tolerate diversity of customs and reach a common moral ground on the basis of civil arrangements and natural law.¹²⁹⁷

¹²⁹² Valignano wrote that;

...the people are white, cultured, prudent, and subject to reason...The Japanese will listen to reason...For the Jesuits there is no comparison between Japan, where they can see the fruits of their labours, and all the other countries. They feel that in the one case they are among rational and noble people, and in the other among peoples base and bestial.'

Elsewhere he wrote:

The people are all white, and very cultivated, and even the common people and the peasants are well brought up and marvellously polite...so that it seems as if they had been brought up at court; and in this they outdo not only the other peoples of the East, but us Europeans. They are very able and of good understanding, and the children are fully capable of our sciences and disciplines, and they recite and learn to read and write in our language much more easily and more quickly than European children do...even the lower classes are not so uncouth and ignorant as ours...indeed for the most part they are of good understanding, well brought up, and able.

Quoted in: Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 51-52, 97-98. Kowner argues that the Japanese were viewed as militarily powerful by the Iberian powers, and that this aided in fostering positive opinions about the Japanese amongst Europeans. Kowner, *From White to Yellow*, 101-142.

¹²⁹³ Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 247-249.

¹²⁹⁴ Ibid., 249-250, 256.

¹²⁹⁵ Ross, "Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East," 346.

¹²⁹⁶ De Reu, "The Missionaries: the first contact between paganism and Christianity," 14.

¹²⁹⁷ Ibid., 249

It meant that the missionaries would strive to ensure that:

in every possible way everything was to be done in the Japanese fashion and with Japanese ceremony.¹²⁹⁸

The missionaries' manners, the expectation that they learn Japanese, how they ate, dressed, conducted ceremonies, and designed architecture were all governed by Valignano's policy of accommodation.¹²⁹⁹ However, according to Alison such compromises 'did not involve the sacrifice of inner essentials.'¹³⁰⁰ Rather, Valignano spoke only about accommodating to the Japanese context in certain respects; 'to Japanese etiquette but not...to Japanese ethics.'¹³⁰¹ Francis X. Clooney writing on the accommodative policies of Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) in India reaches a similar conclusion noting that:

While he set no limits to his adaptation to the "externals" of Indian society, he also conceded no ground on the content of his Catholic faith. His major Tamil works confirm that he was an orthodox Roman Catholic thinker...defending a Catholic faith

¹²⁹⁸ Alison, *Deus Destroyed*, 56.

¹²⁹⁹ Hoey III, "Alessandro Valignano and the Restructuring of the Jesuit Mission in Japan, 1579-1582," 28-29; Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 254; Alison, *Deus Destroyed*, 58-60.

¹³⁰⁰ Alison, *Deus Destroyed*, 61.

¹³⁰¹ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 176.

which was God's "flawless revelation" and relentlessly attacking Hindu concepts and theories of the divine...¹³⁰²

For Clooney, de Nobili's method of accommodation combined:

external adaptation (the effort to "shift from one society to another" for the sake of communication) and internal rigidity (his adherence to universal reason and Catholic doctrine).¹³⁰³

In other words, adaptationalist Jesuits sought accommodate to Japanese customs externally, but internally maintained orthodoxy. It must also be noted that Valignano's reforms took place in a period of experimentation with accommodative policy.¹³⁰⁴ Furthermore, problems associated with these reforms such as language acquisition were never really resolved.¹³⁰⁵ The Jesuit hierarchy in Europe had reservations about the policy, sometimes resulting in a lack of approval for its implementation.¹³⁰⁶ Moreover, the changes

¹³⁰² Clooney, "Roberto de Nobili, Adaptation and the Reasonable Interpretation of Religion," 26.

¹³⁰³ Ibid., 32-33.

¹³⁰⁴ Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 244.

¹³⁰⁵ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 182.

¹³⁰⁶ Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru*, 51-52; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 56.

were not openly accepted by all the Jesuits in Japan and were resisted by some,¹³⁰⁷ as were Cabral's policies prior to Valignano's arrival.¹³⁰⁸

Rubiés notes that hopes that native Japanese would eventually take over the Church's governance¹³⁰⁹ illustrated that:

the policy of accommodation was designed for a society whose members were perceived as *potentially* equal to Europeans in intellectual and moral capacities.¹³¹⁰

On the other hand, in order that the Japanese were not exposed to the schisms in Christianity taking place in Europe and in order to exercise cultural control, the mission was to be unified in doctrine meaning that:

adaptation was predicated on the immaturity of Japanese culture to receive not only Christianity, but...European culture...¹³¹¹

¹³⁰⁷ Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru*, 51-52; Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 56.

¹³⁰⁸ Hoey III, "Alessandro Valignano and the Restructuring of the Jesuit Mission in Japan, 1579-1582," 27.

¹³⁰⁹ Valignano writes:

The Japanese mission, unlike all other missions, will eventually be self-supporting in both manpower and revenue, as the Buddhists are. It will produce excellent Jesuits and secular clergy, and the Society is and will be honoured in Europe for its work in Japan.

Quoted in: Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 52.

¹³¹⁰ Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 255.

¹³¹¹ Ibid.

Ultimately, the method of accommodation, which was only ever envisaged as a temporary means by which to establish the Church, presupposed a paternal relationship between missionary and convert that implied the infantilization of the latter, and required the complete control of information to present an image of religious uniformity.¹³¹² Elison takes a similar approach, but highlights the importance of the use of accommodative policy for practicalities' sake; it helped to lessen or address the issues facing the mission such as a shortage of manpower.¹³¹³ Nevertheless, as noted anti-*Kirishitan* legislation suggests that accommodation failed on multiple levels, with simple injunctions such as Valignano's ban on cattle slaughter being disregarded.¹³¹⁴ It was also noted that whilst the Jesuits sought to adapt to certain modes of behaviour, converts were demanded to undergo a complete epistemological and behavioural change.¹³¹⁵ Indeed, Moran writes that by the 1590s, there were efforts to foster a sense of detachment or indifference, so that:

the aim is to 'detach' the Japanese Jesuits from their external etiquette and ceremonies. The Jesuit should cultivate detachment from – or indifference to – inessentials, and the Japanese...will also have learned to look with detachment on the customs and ceremonies of Japan.¹³¹⁶

¹³¹² Ibid., 255-256.

¹³¹³ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 61-71.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid., 59-60.

¹³¹⁵ Ibid., 61.

¹³¹⁶ Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 176.

Reaching a pessimistic conclusion Boxer goes so far as to assert that accommodation was little more than an essential preliminary to the ultimate conversion of the Japanese.¹³¹⁷ Given all this it could be asserted that like the methods of confrontation and purism, at the heart of accommodation was the desire to create converts according to European models and expectations. The difference was the way in which this goal was reached. Although, Rubiés concludes that conversion and the mission's efficacy was less related to the policy of accommodation than it was to the Jesuits' ability to 'present themselves as the representatives of a civilization with something to offer,'¹³¹⁸ accommodation undoubtedly influenced conversion and associated changes to religious understandings and behaviour. It did so by creating conditions that permitted Japanese religious interpretations and expressions.

Engagement in Symbols

As noted, Higashibaba argues that due to the limitations acting upon the mission *Kirishitan* converts were defined by their engagement with ritual and symbol during the first thirty years of the mission.¹³¹⁹ Accordingly he writes:

¹³¹⁷ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 227-228.

¹³¹⁸ Rubiés, "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuits Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization," 256.

¹³¹⁹ Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the "Christian Century" in Japan," 75; Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 29.

Since catechistical instruction progressed very slowly in the first decades of the Jesuit mission to Japan, we can hardly assume that *Kirishitan* understood from the beginning the various Christian symbols and sacraments with theological sophistication.¹³²⁰

This lack of sophisticated theological knowledge was not only a product of the mission's limitations, but also the method of communal conversion, which allowed a large number of converts to be made, but did not necessarily imply that these converts would receive anything beyond simple religious instruction.¹³²¹ Higashibaba asserts that, until effective means of conveying the missionaries' message were developed, conversion through communal baptism left village religious life effectively unchanged with the exception of symbol and ritual forms.¹³²² As the mission evolved to address its limitations and more educational resources became available so too did the converts' understanding, interactions with symbols, and participation in ritual.¹³²³ Nevertheless, engagement with new symbols and ritual (from a contextually Japanese standpoint), alongside only basic theological instruction and understanding, remained a prevalent form of *Kirishitan* practice

¹³²⁰ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 30.

¹³²¹ *Ibid.*, 21, 34.

¹³²² *Ibid.*, 28.

¹³²³ *Ibid.*, 35; Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the "Christian Century" in Japan,"

and expression throughout the religion's existence. Referring to the spread of doctrinal information and his own three stage model, Higashibaba writes:

Doctrinal information undoubtedly became more available in the middle and late phases of the Christian century, and the content of that information likewise changed. This does not mean, however, that the Japanese approach to Christian symbols...faded out entirely once the preachers began to provide more and better catechisms. The historical explanation, which analyses the expressions in the context of the historical development of the Church in Japan, is justified but it fails to explain the simple but vital point that the same expressions continued to appear throughout the Christian century and beyond.¹³²⁴

Continued engagement in Christian symbols for the purposes of healing and protection even after catechetical information became available illustrates for Higashibaba that the way Christian symbols were understood continued to be based upon broader pre-existing Japanese religious conceptions, rather than taught European Catholic models.¹³²⁵ In the Japanese context, the fact that 'action precedes belief and is not in a religious sense dependent on it'¹³²⁶ likely also contributed to the precedence *Kirishitan* gave to ritual over understanding.

¹³²⁴ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 35.

¹³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹³²⁶ Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, 16.

John Saris's account of his arrival in Hirado in 1613, illustrates some of the importance of and focus on symbols for the *Kirishitan* during a period in which greater theological understanding should have been acquired. He writes:

I gave leave to divers women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the Picture of Venus, with her sonne Cupid, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame, they thinking it to bee our Ladie and her Sonne, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great devotion, telling men in a whisphering manner (that some of their owne companions which were not so, might not heare) that they were Christianos: whereby we perceived them to be Christians, converted by the Portuguall Jesuits.¹³²⁷

On the same event Samuel Purchas (1577-1626) commented:

and would God they taught them Jesus more, and less Jesuitish fancies of exchanged worship of Creatures, howsoever gilded with Christian Names, that the Japonians might learne to acknowledge Jesus and Maria truly, and not with Names and images of they know not what, to worship Venus, and her Sonne Cupid...¹³²⁸

¹³²⁷ Saris "The Voyage of Captaine Saris in the Cloave, to the Ile of Japan," 367.

¹³²⁸ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, part 1, book four, 317.

Such events and commentary whilst betraying the anti-Jesuit, Protestant perspectives of their authors also point to the ongoing pre-eminence of symbol and ritual over theological understanding. Even though the account may record little more than an instance of the mistaken identity of characters likely portrayed in a similar way to the Christian art accessible to the converts, it illustrates that engagement and interaction with symbols remained important despite the existence of the Jesuit press and other efforts to increase theological knowledge which had been in existence for over twenty years. Whilst Saris's account doesn't indicate the form of the worship and veneration of the paintings or the associated interpretations of the believers, other examples from the later part of the *Kirishitan* Century attest to the continued prevalence of Japanese religious interpretations. Higashibaba notes that following martyrdoms in the Edo period *Kirishitan* collected relics including clothes and bone, and used them for healing purposes.¹³²⁹ It could be argued that the use of relics for healing was congruent with European interpretations of these symbols, Wilfrid Bonser, for instance, notes that relics were used for healing and creating connections with saints in order to solicit their intervention for the welfare and forgiveness of sins of the suppliant.¹³³⁰ For Higashibaba, however, the *Kirishitan*:

used Christian symbols as a replacement for or addition to other popular religious practices thought to be effective for protection and healing.¹³³¹

¹³²⁹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 35.

¹³³⁰ Bonser, "The Cult of Relics in the Middle Ages," 235-236.

¹³³¹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 36.

Nevertheless, Higashibaba also notes that the positions of Catholic and Japanese needn't be dichotomized, as the interpretation of symbol and ritual likely:

varied widely between Catholic theological explanation and the Japanese popular interpretation of religious ritual.¹³³²

Reader notes the diversity of Japanese religious actions and customs both locally and nationally, observing that participation in such actions can take formal or informal forms.¹³³³ Such a diversity contributed to the numerous interpretations of ritual and symbol recorded by Higashibaba.

As noted, Valignano's reforms were efficacious in instilling greater doctrinal and theological knowledge amongst converts such as Habian. The *senpuku Kirishitan* who took *Kirishitan* practice into hiding during the persecution provide another example, since they interpreted symbol through both classically Catholic and Japanese lenses. Their symbols and ritual aids included *omaburi* オマブリ (small paper crosses used for devotion, purification, and exorcism), *ofuda* 御札 (tablets used for divination), *kakejiku*, medallions, and statues (used for devotional purposes and as altar pieces).¹³³⁴ Some of these symbols

¹³³² Higashibaba, "Historiographical Issues in the Studies of the "Christian Century" in Japan," 89.

¹³³³ Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, 170-171.

¹³³⁴ Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 86-101; Harrington, "The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan's Religious Tradition," 321-322; Miyazaki, "The Kakure Kirishitan Tradition," 22, 29; Miyazaki, *Kakure Kirishitan: Orasho*, 132-134, 136-140, 167-169; Chin, "Maria Kannon to Amakusa no Kakure Kirishitan

and ritual aids seem to draw solely on Japanese traditions, such as the *ofuda* which are used for divination in a similar way to drawing fortunes at a Shinto Shrine (*Jinja* 神社).¹³³⁵ Other symbols have a Christian origin such as *otenpesha* オテンペシャ (straw whips originally used for flagellation), but have developed to carry the function of Japanese religious items, in this case the Shinto *gohei* 御幣.¹³³⁶

Three additional extra-textual points can be made to support the hypothesis that engagement with new symbols and ritual rather than the acquisition of theological understanding remained a prominent form of *Kirishitan* spirituality. Firstly, as explored in the previous chapters the missionaries were never able to rid themselves of their limitations; contextual, linguistic, financial, and material. As such, the problems the mission faced at its outset remained unsolved at its end. Secondly, when hidden *Kirishitan* communities were discovered in Japan at the end of the Edo period, many of these communities lacked understandings of the meaning of their prayers, rituals, the figures of Christianity, and Catholic truth claims.¹³³⁷ Most scholars have assumed that this meant that the communities lost the original meaning of their practices during the period of hiding, however, these scholars simultaneously affirm the fidelity with which the form of these practices were

Shinkō – Santa • Maria kan shozō shiryō o chūshin ni –” 39-40; Whelan, “Religion Concealed. The Kakure Kirishitan on Narushima,” 371-372; Higgins, “Maria-Kannon of the Kakure,” 6.

¹³³⁵ Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 88-89; Harrington, “The Kakure Kirishitan and Their Place in Japan’s Religious Tradition,” 321-322.

¹³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-87; Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 287; Miyazaki, “The Kakure Kirishitan Tradition,” 29.

¹³³⁷ Miyazaki, “Hidden Christians in Contemporary Nagasaki.”; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 144-146; Nosco, “Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” 18-20.

maintained.¹³³⁸ Contrary to common scholarly opinion it could be argued that the fidelity of the *senpuku* and *kakure Kirishitan* extended to meaning also; that the lack of complex Christian theological knowledge amongst these groups was something true to their origins.¹³³⁹ For example, whilst many scholars argue that prayer had lost meaning to the *senpuku* and *kakure Kirishitan* during transmission, as many prayers were in Latin, a language not widely understood by ordinary *Kirishitan* during the *Kirishitan* Century, it appears that this lack of prayer-based understanding was a religious form inherited from the *Kirishitan* Century. Despite this, as Nosco and Kataoka note prayers originally transmitted in Japanese were preserved with incredible accuracy, whilst those transmitted in Latin appear to have transmogrified in form.¹³⁴⁰ Finally, apostasy appears to have been the prevalent reaction to the persecutions. Higashibaba notes three potential paths to be taken following the persecution:

not to apostatize and be martyred (martyrdom), to apostatize and continue secretly the *Kirishitan* practices (underground practice), and to apostatize and stop the *Kirishitan* practices (apostasy).¹³⁴¹

¹³³⁸ Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 12, 17-21, 26; Nosco, "The Experiences of Christians during the Underground Years and Thereafter," 90-91; Harrington, "The *Kakure Kirishitan* and Their Place in Japan's Religious Tradition," 318, 332; Turnbull, *The *Kakure Kirishitan* of Japan*, 213.

¹³³⁹ Peter Nosco notes this possibility. Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 15-16.

¹³⁴⁰ Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 20; Kataoka, "*Kakure Kirishitan*," 61-63; Whelan, "Religion Concealed. The *Kakure Kirishitan* on Narushima," 378-380.

¹³⁴¹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 154.

This study noted that there were some 300,000 to 600,000 converts in 1614 and over 2,000 martyrs. Following the end of persecution, 50,000 descendants of the *Kirishitan* were rediscovered in hiding during the late 19th Century.¹³⁴² As such, even considering the existence of *kuzure* and the periodic persecution of hidden communities, most converts (or their descendants) appear to have apostatized without continuing hidden *Kirishitan* practice. If religiosity correlates to a willingness to accept martyrdom and the desire to maintain one's beliefs or practices underground, this may suggest that whilst the mission was able to change the practices of those they baptized, it was unable to foster widespread, exclusive, or binding changes to belief. Indeed, it might even be possible to suggest that apostasy was the most widespread religious expression following persecution because, as Christovao Ferreira in Endō Shūsaku's *Silence* puts it:

What the Japanese of that time believed in was not our God. It was their own gods.¹³⁴³

In other words, because conversion was grounded in practice rather than belief, and because said practices were interpreted according to common Japanese religious

¹³⁴² Otis Cary and Kevin M. Doak concur that around 50,000 *senpuku Kirishitan* were discovered in the late 19th Century, half of which re-joined the Catholic Church. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, vol. 1, 285-288; Doak, "Introduction: Catholicism, Modernity, and Japanese Culture," 11, and 27, n. 21.

¹³⁴³ Endo, *Silence*, 199.

understandings, both conversion and apostasy involved little more than the addition or removal of different symbols and rituals from a person's religious practice.

Alongside the above-mentioned interaction with symbols from Japanese religious perspectives, it appears that some *Kirishitan* continued to adhere to and partake in pre-conversion (non-Christian) religious practices.¹³⁴⁴ In Higashibaba's words:

even after baptism...new and old symbols (religious elements) coexisted within the same system.¹³⁴⁵

As evidence for this Higashibaba points to the 1598 text, *Sarubatoru Munji* ざるばとるむんぢ (*Salvator Mundi, Confessionarium*),¹³⁴⁶ which listed several Japanese religious practices amongst its guidance for repentance suggesting that participation in said practices by converts was widespread.¹³⁴⁷ He also notes an example from the 1632 text, *Niffon no cotoba ni yo confesion*,¹³⁴⁸ which refers to the story of a *Kirishitan* who confessed to having used a *yamabushi* 山伏 (an ascetic hermit of the *Shugendō* 修験道 sect) to perform rituals

¹³⁴⁴ An example presented earlier in this chapter regarding non-*Kirishitan* visiting *Kirishitan* communities to use items for healing, similarly suggests that some non-*Kirishitan* adhered to *Kirishitan* practice without changing their religious affiliation. Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 32.

¹³⁴⁵ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 36.

¹³⁴⁶ Ebisawa ed., *Sarubatōru • munji*.

¹³⁴⁷ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 36-37.

¹³⁴⁸ Collado, *Niffon no cotoba ni yo confesion, vo mosu yodai to mata confesor yori goxensacu mesaruru tame no canyonaru gio nocoto danguixa no monpa no Fr. Diego Collado to yu xucqe Roma ni voite core voxitate mono nari. 1632. Modus confitendi et examinandi poenitentem Iaponensem, formula suamet lingua Iaponica. Auctore Fr. Didaco Collado Ord. Praed. Romae a die 20. Iunii, anni 1632.*

for the healing of his ill son.¹³⁴⁹ These were by no means a lone example, other Jesuit texts attest to the continued engagement of *Kirishitan* in Buddhist practices at both peasant and *daimyō* level.¹³⁵⁰ Anti-*Kirishitan* texts also point to cross-religious practice. On the missionaries' methods, the *Kirishitan Monogatari* (1638), which although propagandistic in perspective drew upon the observation and memory of *Kirishitan* communities and practice, noted:

These thereupon made up a seven-step sequence of sermons incorporating Confucian and Buddhist materials; and this they preached to the people...First of all they made a simple statement of teachings of the Way of the Gods and of the Buddhist scripture, then down to the fifth step they reviled these teachings, rending into them layer by layer; and finally in the sixth and seventh steps they taught their own doctrine.¹³⁵¹

The passage may be a reference to the early missionaries use of Buddhist terminology, however, it also likely points to the perceived cross-religious practice of *Kirishitan* converts. Scholars have tended to assume that *senpuku Kirishitan* practice evolved over time to

¹³⁴⁹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 37. Original from *Niffon no cotoba ni yo confesion* reprinted in: Collado, *Zange Roku* 懺悔録, 12.

¹³⁵⁰ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 37-41.

¹³⁵¹ From Elison's translation: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 327.

incorporate other Buddhist and Shintoist religious elements,¹³⁵² but as noted have simultaneously argued that the *Kirishitan* transmitted the form of their prayers and certain rituals faithfully. Indeed, a central characteristic of *senpuku Kirishitan* faith is said to be their fidelity to inherited traditions. Although all religions evolve over time, as many *Kirishitan* in the *Kirishitan* century appear to have participated in non-Christian ritual and practice, it can be suggested that some of the extra-Christian elements that are said to have been adopted during hiding were original to the communities or something within the realms of *Kirishitan* orthodoxy. Indeed, even the double life of living overtly as Buddhists and covertly as *Kirishitan*, may be closer to the sort of cross-religious practice participated in during the pre-persecution era than previously assumed, in so far as it appears that *Kirishitan* often continued their involvement in Japanese religions. The *senpuku Kirishitan* used Buddhist statues as representations of Christian deities,¹³⁵³ non-Christian deities and beings were included in their prayers,¹³⁵⁴ and in order to maintain their secrecy actively participated in Buddhism and Shintoism using elements of those religions to conceal their own practices.¹³⁵⁵ Given all this, it appears that some *Kirishitan* converts converted non-

¹³⁵² Miyazaki argues that *senpuku Kirishitan* unable to use Christian objects of faith adopted Buddhist ones instead. Miyazaki, "The Kakure Kirishitan Tradition," 21-22. See also: Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*.

¹³⁵³ Chin, "Maria Kannon to Amakusa no Kakure Kirishitan Shinkō – Santa • Maria kan shozō shiryō o chūshin ni –" 39-47; Higgins, "Maria-Kannon of the Kakure," 5-20.

¹³⁵⁴ Miyazaki, "The Kakure Kirishitan Tradition," 21-22, 28; Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan*, 138-227.

¹³⁵⁵ Nosco, "Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the 'Underground' Christians," 3-29; Kataoka, "Kakure Kirishitan," 85; Nosco, "The Experiences of Christians during the Underground Years and Thereafter," 91; Pari Gaikoku Senkyōkai ed., *Pari Gaikoku Senkyōkai nenji hōkō: Missions Étrangères de Paris Compte Rendu*, vol. 1, 120.

exclusively, they continued to participate in non-Christian religions and in some cases believed in their truth claims.¹³⁵⁶ Therefore, it can be asserted that, whilst conversion likely allowed converts to form new reference points and definitions of their identity, these do not appear to have been exclusive. Rather, Christian practices and symbols were added to and replaced parts of the popular Japanese religious system to which converts already adhered.¹³⁵⁷ Akin to Stark and Bainbridge's distinctions between types of cults,¹³⁵⁸ within such a system people were free to participate in Christianity according to different levels of involvement. They could interact with Christianity as informal consumers, listening to street preaching, lectures, and debates, or reading the missions publications. They could supplement their religious practices with *Kirishitan* ones, and seek intercession and assistance from the missionaries for mundane and religious affairs. They could choose to formalize their membership by accepting baptism or remain outside of the religion.

It is important to note that despite the above outlined practices the:

Missionaries interpreted Japanese followers' use of Christian symbols as conforming to Catholic teachings, assuming that Japanese believers were "Christian converts"

¹³⁵⁶ Reports from the Paris Foreign Missions Society illustrate that the Catholic missionaries in the 19th Century worried about the continued temple visits undertaken by *senpuku Kirishitan* who had returned to the Church. Pari Gaikoku Senkyōkai ed., *Pari Gaikoku Senkyōkai nenji hōkō: Missions Étrangères de Paris Compte Rendu*, vol. 1, 120.

¹³⁵⁷ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 36.

¹³⁵⁸ Stark and Bainbridge, "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements," 126-130.

and that the symbols used by these “Christians” should therefore maintain their formal Christian meanings. This was the interpretation of the original recorders.¹³⁵⁹

Given this missionary attitude toward the Japanese engagement with Christian symbols, it appears that contemporaneously the adoption of new symbols and ritual by those who were baptized regardless of their own interpretation of these symbols, was treated as evidence of or even constituted conversion under the Jesuit system. As such, the non-exclusivity of *Kirishitan* conversion was not only a reality experienced by converts, but a sort of conversion accepted and anticipated by the missionaries. Nevertheless, not all converted non-exclusively and there were those who gained theological and doctrinal knowledge.

Both textual and extra-textual evidence suggest that Japanese religious conceptions informed and shaped *Kirishitan* belief and practices even following the increased availability of doctrinal and theological information. Additionally, the fact that reports and evidence attesting to the importance of this form of engagement with symbols can be found in all periods of *Kirishitan* existence, suggests that this was a prevalent form of post-conversion practice and religious understanding. As such, it is also possible to suggest that prevalent amongst some groups of *Kirishitan* was a lack of orthodox Christian theological understanding, and a religious practice marked by engagement with symbols grounded in Japanese religious interpretations and cross-religious practice. Although such a conclusion

¹³⁵⁹ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, 30.

stands, interpretations varied between those which could be described as Catholic, Japanese, or various blendings of the two. Nevertheless, the missionaries viewed the religious practices of the *Kirishitan* as confirming their conversion to and understanding of Christianity.

Conclusions

In the *Kirishitan* Century, conversion followed the logic of *cuius region, eius religio* and often took a communal form. Christianity spread through social and political networks, so that people often converted following the conversion of family members, friends, and political leaders. Focusing on familial and amiable ties Stark convincingly argues that social networks play a primary role in conversion and in refusal to convert. In the case of *Kirishitan* Century Japan such social networks also played a primary role, however, an expanded model that includes wider local and national level socio-political ties and the ancestors in the category of social network is essential for understanding the role that relationality played in conversion in the period. Due to the nature of these social networks and the system of *cuius region, eius religio*, most ordinary converts appear to have had little choice in the matter of their conversion. Conversion was often the result of force and compliance with the local political order, and following the beginning of anti-*Kirishitan* persecutions and the construction of a coercive state apparatus, control and legislated compliance made conversion virtually impossible.

Whilst social networks, political allegiance, family and friendships facilitated the spread of Christianity other factors were also at play. In congruence with Stark's studies on conversion to early Christianity, the Japanese elite appear to have disproportionately converted to the *Kirishitan* religion. The potential of economic gain was attractive to some *daimyō* and those in the *bushi* class, whereas the potential of political gain could play a role in conversion across all social classes. The forging of relationships with the missionaries provided opportunities for the elite to benefit economically and politically, and in turn this likely encouraged conversion when conversion allowed profit to be made. Following the unification of Japan, conversion may have also helped to address thwarted aspirations of political change.

Other potential spiritual and secular rewards also played a role in encouraging conversion across social classes. Practical benefits included access to health care and education, although this was not a clear-cut exercise in dismissing one set of religious activities for another. As explored by Higashibaba, Christian and Western healing practices were often combined with continued recourse to those of a Buddhist and Japanese origin. It is also likely that conversion offered a means to resolve a variety of acutely felt tensions, although due to the individual nature of tensions and the lack of records attesting to the tensions experienced by converts, this is a factor that can only be explored speculatively. Exploring conversion as a deviant action suggests that one tension it may have helped to address was societally induced stress.

For conversion to occur it was also important that the supernatural claims of Christianity were perceived to be efficacious. As had taken place in medieval Europe, Japanese leaders experimented with Christianity by having their children baptized, by awaiting supernatural signs, and by partaking in *Kirishitan* religious practices. Once proven efficacious, conversion or further experimentation with Christianity could occur. The existence of martyrs, and the stigma and sacrifice associated with being a *Kirishitan* aided in making the religion appear true or efficacious to potential converts.

The missionaries approached the Japanese as Other seeking to replace Japanese modes of life and thought with European ones. The Othering of the Japanese and a method of conversion that placed baptism at its centre led the missionaries to be mostly unsuccessful in attempts to instil theological knowledge in their converts whose post-conversion religious practice was defined by engagement with new symbols and rituals, but underwent little overall change. Unlike Higashibaba, who argues that a lack of theological knowledge was indicative of the early mission (but lacked prevalence in later periods), this chapter argued that engagement with new symbols and rituals, and an associated lack of theological knowledge were widespread throughout the period and perhaps indicative of it. Furthermore, due to the cross-religious practice of some converts it argued that conversion was non-exclusive in nature.

The next and final chapter concludes the thesis. It outlines the arguments of the foregoing chapters and assesses them, as well as providing some closing retrospective thoughts.

Conclusions

This thesis explored the history of the Jesuit mission to Japan between 1549 and 1644, and conversion to Christianity in that period. The thesis placed the macrocontext of conversion at its centre arguing that political context was the most important factor in *Kirishitan* Century conversions due to its ability to permit and restrict religious change, and the influence it had on the missionaries' capabilities. Furthermore, the thesis explored the theme of limitations arguing that the mission was limited by multiple factors that hampered its progress and shaped the nature of conversion. It argued that because of these limitations, the missionaries' methods, and a religious practice marked by engagement with symbols and ritual; the missionaries failed to instil orthodox Christian belief in their converts. Rather, many converts converted non-exclusively.

The first chapter provided a brief history of scholarship on the *Kirishitan* Century, and explored definitions of conversion and potentially useful theories for studying conversion during the period. It argued that scholarship on the period can be divided into several schools of thought. On the one hand, studies can be categorized as traditional historiographical works, biographical works, or works that explore the interface between Christianity and Japanese modes of thought and being. On the other hand, scholars have positioned themselves as proponents of either Ebisawa or Elison, dichotomized by the extent to which they believe that Christianity contributed to Japan. This work falls into the

category of traditional historiographies, but also draws on works that explore Japanese-Christian interaction. The thesis is more Elisonian than Ebisawan in approach, especially in its assumptions about the contribution of Christianity to Japan. However, the thesis also drew heavily on the work of Higashibaba, and therefore it is hoped that some of the limitations associated with Elison's work have been avoided. The first chapter also argued that any definition of conversion for use in a study of this nature must consider Japanese understandings of religious change and the actual ways in which conversion took place in the *Kirishitan* Century. It argued that because religious change took the forms of both conversion and adhesion, and that because conversion took individual, communal and forced forms, that a model of conversion which accepted each of these forms as equally valid was necessary. Moreover, it suggested that the Japanese concept of *kaishū* did not distinguish between these different forms of religious change. As such, the chapter proposed that a definition of conversion must incorporate all possible changes to the religious belief, affiliation and practice of a group or an individual. The remainder of the chapter explored potentially useful theories that can be applied to the Japanese historical context. It argued that Stark's work was particularly useful, but not without limitations. Moreover, it suggested that Christianity in Japan can be understood as a cult or NRM, and therefore that the application of theories constructed for the study of modern cults and NRMs may be useful for studying *Kirishitan* Century conversion. Due the thesis's macrocontextual focus, it also proposed that colonial and socio-economic explanations of conversion are useful.

The second chapter explored the changing political context of Japan in the 16th and 17th Centuries; the context in which the Jesuit mission found itself. The chapter sought to illustrate that whilst the missionaries' fortunes changed over the *Kirishitan* Century, the mission was marked by a peripheral status throughout. It argued that the anti-*Kirishitan* legislation and subsequent persecution that developed over the period was primarily politically motivated, grounded in the perceived threat of the Iberian nations to Japan, several scandals, and the desire of Hideyoshi and the early Edo period leaders to bring the country under their complete control. Furthermore, it argued that the persecutions should be understood alongside wider political changes. Most importantly, the chapter sought to establish that Christianity's permissibility (or lack thereof) was the most important factor governing the possibility of conversion, the nature of post-conversion faith, and the efficacy of the mission.

The third chapter focused on the non-political limitations acting upon the mission, and attempts to address these by Visitor Alessandro Valignano. It argued that the missionaries were unable to rid themselves of these limitations. Missionary-convert interaction was limited due to the low ratio of missionary staff to converts, and the missionaries' virtual confinement to Kyushu. Furthermore, many missionaries failed to acquire adequate Japanese skills leading to a reliance on Japanese missionary staff who similarly lacked adequate European language skills. Whilst the Jesuit press appears to have been relatively successful in increasing the amount of doctrinal and theological information available to converts, it is difficult to assess the extent to which publications were

disseminated and the extent to which ordinary people could read and understand these texts. Limited finances and the mission's isolation from continental Asia and Europe caused the mission further problems. Combined these human and material limitations prevented the dissemination of anything more than basic theological and doctrinal knowledge to converts and potential converts. Moreover, the chapter argued that this lack of knowledge of the basic tenets of Christianity indicated that conversion was not grounded in changes to individual epistemologies.

The final chapter explored the nature of conversion. Whilst maintaining the possibility that a multiplicity of conversional forms existed in the period, the chapter focused on communal conversion (through which most converts were made) and the individual factors that led people to conversion. It argued that conversion often took a non-exclusive form, that Christianity was often understood through Japanese religious interpretations and was supplementary to other popular religious practices in the period. The chapter explored a series of factors that contributed to conversion. Most important amongst these was the potential converts' social networks including their family, friends, community, domain, political leaders, and ancestors. The chapter argued that the social networks of potential converts encouraged and discouraged conversion, and on a political level even mandated conversion or non-conversion. It also noted that the tangible and supernatural benefits of conversion, and cross-religious experimentation with Christian practices, were instrumental components in the conversion process. For example, members of the *bushi* classes were likely influenced by economic incentives, and

conversion's power to transform political identity and allegiance. The chapter also noted that the costs of conversion including martyrdom increased the perceived efficacy of Christianity and the mission. It also explored the possibility that conversion was a deviant behaviour particularly for the politically disenchanted, and noted that the *bakufu*'s use of control and coercion ended the possibility of conversion. Building upon Higashibaba's work, the chapter argued that the *Kirishitan* were mostly defined by their practice rather than belief. However, whereas Higashibaba argues that knowledge of Christian doctrine became more common throughout the period, this thesis argued that a religious practice centred around Japanese religious interpretations and a lack of knowledge of Christianity remained prevalent even in later stages of the mission. The chapter suggested (perhaps inconclusively) that *senpuku* and *kakure Kirishitan* fidelity to ritual form combined with a lack of knowledge of the meaning of ritual and prayer resulted not from the nature of hiding, but was original to the *Kirishitan* in the *Kirishitan* Century.

The thesis provides a robust assessment of the *Kirishitan* Century from a historiographical and sociological stand point, however, it only tells half the story. It lacks the individual dimension present in biographical works on the period and associated with psychological explorations of conversion. This was intentional. The first chapter argued that a psychological approach to conversion could not easily be applied to the period due to a lack of necessary and appropriate data. Nevertheless, the biographical works of Berry, Moran and others, illustrate that focusing on individuals can provide insights that classical historiographical studies often miss. It may have been pertinent, for instance, to explore

the relation of the biographies of Japan's leaders to anti-*Kirishitan* policy, or when available, the individual conversion narratives of *Kirishitan daimyō*. A second potential criticism is that the thesis relied on theories constructed for the study of religious conversion in the modern world. It is unclear whether theories derived from the study of inherently different socio-political contexts and religious groups can be adequately applied to late medieval and early modern Japan and Christianity. It may be the case that radically new theories are needed to explore conversion in the period. A final issue concerns the extent to which Higashibaba's proposals can be extended to the whole of the *Kirishitan* Century. Whilst Higashibaba argues that the mission's limitations were eventually reduced leading to the acquisition of basic doctrinal and theological knowledge amongst converts, this work claimed that a lack of doctrinal and theological knowledge was prevalent amongst converts in all periods. The writings of native, educated *Kirishitan* such as Habian suggest that Valignano's reforms were effective in spreading doctrinal and theological information at least among the upper classes. However, whilst it is a certainty that:

what developed on the popular level was...a Japanese Christianity that incorporated traits of the popular religious culture of Japan...¹³⁶⁰

¹³⁶⁰ Higashibaba, *Christianity in early Modern Japan*, xv.

the extent to which theological information was effectively disseminated to the masses is ultimately unclear. This thesis presented the case that on the popular level such information was not effectively disseminated. Such a conclusion conflicts with numerous long held assumptions both religious and academic about the nature of Christianity in the period.

The picture of conversion presented in this study is perhaps a bleak one. Whilst the thesis didn't seek to draw a definitive line between what constituted Christian (or *Kirishitan*) and non-*Kirishitan*, it suggested that the missionaries failed to create the European-style, Catholic converts that they desired. Nevertheless, the study also sought to remain open. It maintained that European-style Catholic converts and converts with expansive theological and doctrinal understandings existed. If anything, rather than abide to a single position the study illustrated that conversion in the *Kirishitan* Century was a complex phenomenon. Conversion took place both communally and individually, the reasons behind it were manifold, and the forms that post-conversion practice and belief took were similarly multiplicitous. In other words, no single traceable thread can explain all conversions in the period. The study has built upon (and perhaps intensified) the theories of Elison and Higashibaba. In a sense, the thesis verges on embracing the claims made by Endō's character Christovão Ferreira who says:

in the churches we built throughout this country the Japanese were not praying to the Christian God. They twisted God to their own way of thinking in a way we can never imagine...It is like a butterfly caught in a spider's web. At first it is certainly a

butterfly, but the next day only the externals, the wings and the trunk, are those of a butterfly; it has lost its true reality and has become a skeleton. In Japan our God is just like that butterfly caught in the spider's web; only the exterior form of God remains, but it has already become a skeleton.¹³⁶¹

Nevertheless, it has sought to avoid such value judgements as well as those which have marked generations of scholarship and popular religious thought captured in the words of yet another of Endō's characters, Sebastião Rodrigues:

When you first came to this country churches were built everywhere, faith was fragrant like the fresh flowers of the morning, and many Japanese vied with one another to receive baptism like the Jews who gathered at the Jordan.¹³⁶²

Due to the study's subject matter, Euro-centrism and Christo-centrism are unavoidable, however, such a positioning inherently blurs historical reality by providing an inflated image of the importance of Christianity in the period. It is true that Christianity at least partially motivated two and a half centuries of Japanese foreign and religious policy, but simultaneously it must be affirmed that the 'sum of [the missionaries] cultural contribution to Japan was nil...[they] left no lasting influence.'¹³⁶³ Future studies are likely

¹³⁶¹ Endo, *Silence*, 201-202.

¹³⁶² Ibid., 199.

¹³⁶³ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 248.

to continue to move away from Euro and Christo-centrism, and are also likely to increasingly place themselves within school of thoughts that focus on interaction between the Japanese context and the Japanese on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. Like the work of Paramore, future studies must continue to question the Ebisawa-Elison (East-West) academic dichotomy, which is ingrained in the study of the period. Due to a lack of hitherto study on the topic, future studies on conversion must also continue to address the topic of communal conversion in the period. The field can also be advanced through the additional testing of Higashibaba's theories and those presented here. Future studies also need to address the reasons that people continued to convert under persecution. This is a question that this study has sought to answer, but is one which requires an exploration beyond the scope of this work.

Appendix

Bateren tsuihō rei 伴天連追放令

The Decree

Japanese text:

定

一、日本は神国たる処、きりしたん国より邪法を授候儀、太以不可然事

一、其国郡之者を近付門徒になし、神社仏閣を打破らせ前代未聞候 国郡
在所知行等給人に被下候儀者、当座之事候 天下よりの御法度を相守 諸
事可得其意処、下々として猥義曲事事

一、伴天連其智恵之法を以心さし次第第二檀那を持候と被思召候へハ、如右
日域之仏法を相破事曲事候条 伴天連儀日本之地ニハおかせられ間敷候間
今日より二十日之間に用意仕可帰国候 其中に下々伴天連に不謂族申懸も
の在之ハ曲事たるへき事

一、黒船之儀ハ商売之事候間 各別に候之条年月を経 諸事売買いたすへ
き事

一、自今以後 仏法のさまたけを不成輩ハ商人之儀ハ不及申、いづれにて
もきりしたん国より往還くるしからす候条 可成其意事。

已上

天正十五年六月十九日¹³⁶⁴

English translation:

Ordained

Item 1. Japan is the land of the Gods. Diffusion here from the *Kirishitan* Country of a pernicious doctrine is most undesirable.

Item 2. To approach the people of our provinces and districts, and making them into [Kirishitan] sectarians, cause them to destroy the shrines of the gods and the temples of the Buddhas is a thing unheard of in previous ages. Provinces, districts, estates, and stipends are granted in fief contingent upon the incumbent's observance of the laws of the *Tenka* and attention to their intent in all matters. But to corrupt and stir up the lower classes is outrageous.

Item 3. It is the judgement [of the lord of the *Tenka*] that since the *Bateren* by means of their clever doctrine amass parishioners as they please, the aforementioned violation of the Buddhist Law in these Precincts of the Sun has resulted. That being

¹³⁶⁴ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 69-70

outrageous, the *Bateren* can hardly be allowed to remain on Japanese soil. Within twenty days they must make their preparations and return to their country. Should there during this time appear among the lower classes villains who make unwarranted accusations against the *Bateren*, this shall be considered criminal.

Item 4. The purpose of the Black Ships is trade, and that is a different matter. As years and months pass, trade may be carried on in all sorts of articles.

Item 5. From now on all those who do not disturb Buddhism (merchants as a matter of course, and all others as well) may freely travel from the Kirishitan Country and return. Act accordingly.

Text as above.

Tenshō 15/6/19. [24 July 1587]¹³⁶⁵

The Notice

Japanese text:

覚

一、伴天連門徒之儀者、其者之心次第事たるへき事

一、国郡在所ヲ御扶持ニ被遣候を、其知行中之寺諸百姓以下を心さしも無
之処、押付而給人伴天連門徒ニ可成由申、理不尽ニ成候段曲事候事

¹³⁶⁵ I have changed the formatting, but the text is as it appears in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 115-116.

一、其国郡知行之義給人被下候事者当座之義ニ候。給人者替り候といへとも百姓ハ不替者ニ候条、理不尽之義何かに付て於有之ハ、給人を曲事被仰出候間、可成其意候事

一、貳百町三千貫より上之者伴天連ニ成候におゐいてハ、奉得公儀御意次第ニ成可申候事

一、右之知行より下を取候者ハ、八宗九宗之義候間、其主一人宛ハ心次第可成事

一、伴天連門徒之儀ハ一向宗よりも外ニ申合候条、被聞召候。一向宗其国郡ニ寺内ヲ立、給人へ年貢を不成、并加賀国一国门徒ニ成候而国主之富樫を追出し、一向宗之坊主もとへ令知行、其上越前迄取候而天下之さはりニ成候儀無其隠候事

一、本願寺門徒、其坊主つゝ備に寺を立させ、雖免置候、寺内ニ如前々ニハ不被仰付候事

一、国郡又は在所を持候大名、其家中之者共、伴天連門徒ニ押付成候事ハ、本願寺門徒之寺内を立しより太不可然義候間、天下之さわりニ可成候条、其分別無之者ハ可被加御成敗候事

一、伴天連門徒、心さし次第ニ下々成候義ハ、八宗九宗之儀候間不苦事

一、大唐、南蛮、高麗江日本仁を売遣候事曲事。付、日本ニおゐて人之売買停止の事

一、牛馬ヲ売買ころし食事、是又可為曲事事

右之条々堅被停止畢。若違犯之族有之者忽可被処嚴科者也

天正十五年六月十八日

御朱印¹³⁶⁶

English translation:

Notice

Item 1. The matter of [becoming] a sectarian of the *Bateren* shall be the free choice of the individual concerned.

Item 2. That enfeoffed recipients of provinces, districts, and estates should force peasants registered in [Buddhist] temples, and others of their tenantry, against their will into the ranks of the *Bateren* sectarians is unreasonable beyond words and is outrageous.

Item 3. Provinces and stipends are granted in fief with tenure limited to the incumbent. The recipient may change; but the peasants do not change. In case of unreasonable demands exerted upon any point, the recipient will be held in contumely. Act accordingly.

¹³⁶⁶ Ebisawa, *Nihon Kirishitanishi*, 268.

Item 4. Persons holding above 200 *chō*, 2 or 3 thousand *kan*, may become [sectarians of the] *Bateren* upon obtaining official permission, acceding to the pleasure [of the Lord of the *Tenka*].

Item 5. Persons drawing stipends below the aforementioned: in the matter of choice among the Eight Sects or Nine Sects, the head of the house shall decide as he pleases, for himself only.

Item 6. The *Bateren* sectarians, it has come to the attention [of the lord of the *Tenka*], are even more given to conjurations with external elements than the *Ikkō* Sect. The *Ikkō* Sect established temple precincts in the provinces and districts and did not pay the yearly dues to their enfeoffed recipients. Moreover, they made the entire Province of Kaga into [*Ikkō*] sectarians, chased out Togashi, the lord of the province, delivered the stipends over to the bonzes of the *Ikkō* Sect, and, beyond that, even took over Echizen. That this was harmful to the *Tenka* is the undisguisable truth.

Item 7. The bonzes of the *Ikkō* sectarians had temples built in every cove and inlet. Though they have been pardoned, they no longer regulate matters in their temple precincts in the same manner as before.

Item 8. That *daimyō* in possession of provinces and districts or of estates should force their retainers into the ranks of the *Bateren* sectarians is even more undesirable by far than the Honganji sectarians' establishment of temple precincts, and is bound to be of great harm to the *Tenka*. These individuals of no discretion shall be subject to chastisement.

Item 9. *Bateren* sectarians by their free choice, [insofar as they] are of the lower classes, shall be unmolested, this being a matter of Eight Sects or Nine Sects.

Item 10. The sale of Japanese to China, South Barbary,¹³⁶⁷ and Korea is outrageous.

Add: In Japan trade in human beings is prohibited.

Item 11. Trade and slaughter of cattle and horses for use as food shall be considered criminal.

The above items shall rest under strict prohibition. Any transgressor shall immediately be put to severe punishment.

Tenshō 15/6/18 [23 July 1587]

Vermilion Seal.¹³⁶⁸

¹³⁶⁷ A reference to Europe.

¹³⁶⁸ I have changed the formatting, but the text is as it appears in: Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 117-118

The 1612 Injunction

Japanese text (portion relating to Christianity):

伴天連門徒御制禁也。若有違背乃族者、忽不可遁其罪科事。右之趣、御領
内え急度可被相触候、此旨賢被仰出候 仍而如件¹³⁶⁹

English translation:

Bateren sectarians are banned. Supposing that charges of violating this order are brought forward,¹³⁷⁰ you will be unable to escape from your crime. Of the aforementioned [the violating of this ordinance (the discovery of people who are *Kirishitan*)], inform the high ranking in your domain quickly. This has been decreed.¹³⁷¹

¹³⁶⁹ Kataoka, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi*, 187.

¹³⁷⁰ An alternative rendering: 'Supposing that there are charges of (or suspicions of) violation of this order...'

¹³⁷¹ The translation which does not promise complete accuracy, but outlines the general contents of the text is by James Harry Morris. Some assistance was given by Takano Katsuhiro.

Hai Kirishitan bun 排吉利支丹文

Japanese text:

乾為父、坤為母、人生於其中間、三才於是定矣。夫日本者元是神国也。陰陽不測、名之謂神。聖之為聖、靈之為靈、誰不尊崇。況人之得生、悉陰陽之所感也。五体六塵、起居動靜、須臾不離神。々非求于他、人々具足、箇々円成。廼是神之体也。又称仏国。不無拠。文云、惟神明応迹国而大日之本国矣。法華曰、諸仏救世者住於大神通、為悦衆生故、現無量神力。此金口妙文。神写仏其名異而趣一者、恰如合符節。上古緇素各蒙神助、航大洋而遠入震旦、求仏家之法、求仁道之教、孜々屹々。而内外之典藉負将来。後来之末学、師々相承、的々伝受、仏法之昌盛、超越於異朝。豈是非仏法東漸乎。爰吉利支丹之徒党、適来於日本。非啻渡商航而通貨財、叨欲弘邪法、惑正宗、以改域中之政号作己有。是大禍之萌也。不可有不制矣。

日本者神国仏国而尊神敬仏、専仁義之道、匡善惡之法。有過犯之輩、随其輕重行墨劓剕宮大辟之五刑。礼云、喪多而服五、罪多而刑五。有罪之疑者、乃以神為証誓。定罪罰之条目、犯不犯之區別、纖毫不差。五逆十惡之罪人者、是仏神三宝、人天大衆之所棄捐也。積惡之余殃難逃。或斬罪、或焙烙、獲罪如是。勸善懲惡之道也。欲制惡、々易積。欲進善、々難保。

豈不加炳誠乎。現世猶如此。後世冥道閻老之呵責、三世諸仏難救、歷代列祖不奈。可畏々々。

彼伴天連徒党、皆反件政令、嫌疑神道、誹謗正法、殘義損善。見有刑人載欣載奔、自拝自礼。以是為宗之本懷。非邪法何哉。実神敵仏敵也。急不禁後世必有国家之患。殊司号令。不制之却蒙天譴矣。日本国之内寸土尺地、無所措手足、速掃攘之。強有違命者可刑罰之。今幸受天之詔命、主于日域、秉国柄者有年於茲。外顯五常之至德、内歸一大之藏教。是故国豊国民安。経曰、現世安穩後生善処。孔夫子亦曰、身体髮膚受于父母。不敢毀傷李之始也。全其身乃是敬神也。早斥彼邪法、弥昌吾正法。世既雖及澆季、益神道仏法紹隆之善政也。一天海宜承知。莫敢違失矣。

慶長十八竜集癸丑臘月 日¹³⁷²

English translation:

Heaven as father, Earth as mother, and Man born between them: here the Three Powers are determined.

Japan is by origin the Land of the Gods. The unfathomable functioning of yin and yang, given a name, is called god. Who would fail to hollow and revere the sacredness of the sacred, the spirituality of the spirit? All the more so because it is

¹³⁷² Ebisawa, Cieslik, Doi, and Ōtsuka eds., *Kirishitan sho: Haiya sho*, 451-452

entirely as a result of the functioning of yin and yang that man gains life! None of the five bodily parts or the six senses, indeed no human action or undertaking, is for as much as in an instant separate from god. God is not to be sought anywhere apart. What human beings are all endowed with, what each and every individual is invested with – that is the substance of god.

Japan is also called the Land of the Buddhas, and not without reason. It is written: “This is the land where the Buddhas manifest themselves as gods, the homeland of Dainichi.” And the Lotus says: “As saviours of the world, the Buddhas abide by their great godlike faculties; for the sake of bringing joy to sentient beings, they display boundless divine powers.” These are golden words, wonderful phrases. The names “gods” and “Buddhas” differ, but their purport is the same; they are just like the two halves of a tally joined.

In antiquity priests and laymen, each blessed with the gods’ assistance, crossed the ocean and went to faraway China, exerting themselves in the endeavour to seek out the Law of the Buddhists and the teachings of the Way of humanity and to bring back the interior and the exterior scriptures. Their latter-day successors have passed on the learning of those scholars from one master to another, transmitting it generation by generation. The Law of the Buddhas flourishes here with greater vigour than in other lands. How could this be anything but the Eastward Progress of Buddhism!

And now the band of *Kirishitan* has unexpectedly come to Japan. They do not merely sail trading vessels here to traffic in commodities. Rather, they recklessly desire to spread a pernicious doctrine, confound true religion, change the governmental authority of this realm, and make it their own possession. These are the germs of disaster. This band must not be left unsuppressed.

Japan is the Land of the Gods and the Land of the Buddhas. The gods are hallowed here and the Buddhas revered; the Way of humanity and rightness is followed assiduously, and laws regarding good and evil are perfected. Any malefactor is subjected to the Five Penalties – tattooing the forehead, slicing off the nose, cutting off the legs, castration, and capital punishment – according to the severity of his offense. It says in the *Rites*: “There are many kinds of death, but only the Five Types of Mourning; there are many kinds of crime, but only the Five Penalties.” Should there be some doubt regarding culpability, then a divine proof is administered, the categories of crime and punishment determined, and innocence distinguished from guilt beyond a hairbreadth of certainty.

Criminals who commit the Five Violent Acts or the Ten Evil Deeds are execrated by the Buddhas and the gods, by the Three Treasures, and by the multitude of humans and of heavenly beings. To escape retribution for an overplus of evil is not easy. Either the sword or the stake – that is what the consequence of crime is like. This is the way of encouraging good and inhibiting evil. For all the desire to suppress evil, however, evil accumulates easily; for all the desire to promote good,

good is difficult to preserve. How, then, could one not issue a clear warning: If this is what it is like in the present world, then what of the world to come? All the Buddhas of the Three Worlds will not save you from the torments meted out by Enma, the ruler of the Realm of Darkness, and all the generations of your ancestors will not be able to do anything. Dreadful, dreadful!

All of that notorious band, the *Bateren*, contravene the aforesaid governmental regimen, traduce the Way of the Gods, calumniate the True Law, derange righteousness, and debase goodness. When they see that there are criminals to be executed, then they rejoice, then they rush to the scene, then they do reverence and pay obeisance in person. This [sort of death] they make out to be a consummation to be devoutly wished in their religion. If this is not a pernicious doctrine, then what is it? These are truly the enemies of the gods and the enemies of the Buddhas. If they are not banned immediately, the state will be sure to suffer grief in the future. Indeed, unless they are checked, those in charge of enforcing the ordinances shall themselves become the targets of the punishment of Heaven. So purge Japan of them! Expel them quickly without giving them an inch of land to grasp, a foot of ground to stand on! And if any dare resist these orders, they shall be executed.

Happily, these Precincts of the Sun have for some years now been ruled by a recipient of the Mandate of Heaven to hold sway over the state. Outwardly, he manifests our cardinal virtues, the Five Constants; inwardly, he turns to the great

teachings of the Triptaka. Therefore the country prospers and the people are at peace. The sutra says: "Peace and tranquillity in the present world, a good repose in the life to come." And Confucius says: "Our bodies, down to the hair and the skin, are received by us from our fathers and mothers. Not to let them be injured or disfigured presumptuously: this is the beginning of filial piety." To keep that body whole: this means to revere the gods. To repulse the pernicious doctrine of the foreigners without delay is to prosper our True Law all the more. Although the world may already have entered an age of decline, our government pursues an excellent course: It steadily increases the traditional patronage of the Way of the Gods and the Law of the Buddhas. Let all under Heaven and within the Four Seas take note! Let no one dare to err!

Keichō 18, the year of water junior and the ox, XII. VERMILLION SEAL
[Hidetada].¹³⁷³

¹³⁷³ Translation from: Elisonas, "Statement on the Expulsion of the Bateren," 171-174.

Nikō seigen rei 二港制限令

Japanese text:

追而唐船之儀は、何方に着候共、船主次第売買可仕旨被仰出候、以上、急度申入候、仍伴天連門徒之儀、堅御停止之旨、先年相国様被仰出候上者、彌被存其旨、下々百姓已下ニ到迄、彼宗門無之様ニ可被入御念候
将又黒船いきりす舟之儀者、右之宗体ニ候間、到御領分ニ著岸候共、長崎平戸へ被遣、於御領内売買不仕様ニ尤候、此旨依上意如斯候¹³⁷⁴

English translation:

Regarding ships from China, regardless of where they arrive ship owners who buy and sell [goods] must report this to the government. Please do this swiftly. Regarding the *Bateren* sectarians, they are strictly forbidden. Last year Shōkoku-sama¹³⁷⁵ said we should be careful to ensure that the *Bateren* sect is never allowed

¹³⁷⁴ Zhāng, “Tokugawa Ieyasu no Sunpu gaikōtaiksei: Sunpu no kōsō ni tsuite,” 205.

¹³⁷⁵ A term of reference to a high-ranking official, in this case it likely refers to Tokugawa Ieyasu.

into our country, this is now widely known, even amongst the lowest classes of peasants.

And then regarding the black ships and the English ships, if they are *Bateren* and if they come to your shores, send them to Nagasaki or Hirado. In your domains, trading [with foreigners] is prohibited. This is the decision of the highest in the government.¹³⁷⁶

¹³⁷⁶ The translation which does not promise complete accuracy, but outlines the general contents of the text is by James Harry Morris. Some assistance was received from Takano Katsuhiro.

Kōsatsu from 1682

Japanese text:

定

きりしたん宗門は累年御制禁たり自然不審なるもの有之者申出へし御ほう
びとして

はてれんの訴人 銀五百枚

いるまんの訴人 銀三百枚

立かへり者の訴人 同断

同宿并宗門の訴人 銀百枚

右之通可被下之たとひ同宿宗門之内たりといふとも訴人に出る品により銀
五百枚可被下之かく置他所よりあらハるゝにをひては其所の名主并五人組
と一類ともにかひ處嚴科者也仍下知如件

天和二年九月日 奉行¹³⁷⁷

¹³⁷⁷ I transcribed this document from photographs which the staff at the *Byakkotai Kinenkan* 白虎隊記念館 in Aizu Wakamatsu 会津若松 kindly allowed me to take. The exhibited document is labelled with the number 0219 and the title *Kirishitan seirei* きりしたん制令 (*Kirishitan* regulations). A similar *kōsatsu* exists in Lares Kirishitan Bunko, and although the contents are mostly identical there are times when the Aizu text favours the use of *kana* rather than *kanji*, or omits words completely. For the Lares Kirishitan Bunko document and translation, see: Lares Kirishitan Bunko Database ed., “Notice, dated 1682 *kōsatsu* (*Sonin hōshōrei*).” Laver also translates a 1682 *kōsatsu*. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 64.

English translation:

Ordained

For successive years, the *Kirishitan* religion has been banned. If you find a suspicious person,¹³⁷⁸ you should lodge a complaint with the authorities. As a reward, we will supply:

The informant of a *Bateren*. 500 silver coins.

The informant of an *Iruman*. 300 silver coins.

The informant of a *Tachikaerimono*.¹³⁷⁹ The same amount [as above].

The informant of a *dōjuku* or an ordinary adherent. 100 silver coins.

The foregoing has been decreed. Even if the informant is a *dōjuku* or an ordinary adherent, they shall receive (according to the person against which a complaint is lodged) the 500 silver coins. If it is discovered that you have done something like hiding [a *Kirishitan*], the village headman of that place, the *goningumi* etc., even your family [household] will be punished. It has so been ordained.

The ninth lunar month of the second of the Tenna Era [October/November 1682]

¹³⁷⁸ As an interesting note the term could also be translated as “a person of incomplete understanding.”

¹³⁷⁹ A person who has once apostatized from Christianity, but later returns to the religion. The version of a 1682 *kōsatsu* recorded in Shitō Shinyū's *Iwate no Kirishitan* uses an alternative term (*Rikaberi* リカベリ) to describe *Tachikaerimono*. Shitō, *Iwate no Kirishitan*, 52.

The Bugyō¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁸⁰ Translated by James Harry Morris.

Addendum: Rethinking the Arrival of Christianity in Japan – *Keikyō* and Japan

This chapter explores the possibility that interactions between Christians and the Japanese occurred prior to the European led missions of the 16th Century, the possibility that these interactions resulted in conversions, and the implications of theories which affirm such a possibility on Christian conversion in Japan during the 20th and 21st Centuries. Traditionally Japan's possible encounter with Nestorian (景教 J. *Keikyō*, C. *Jǐngjiào*)¹³⁸¹ Christianity prior to the arrival of the Jesuits, has been thought to have occurred at three historical points:

1. Transmission prior to the Táng 唐 period (prior to 618CE).
2. Transmission during the Táng period (618–907CE).
3. An encounter during the Yuán 元 period (1271CE-1368CE).

¹³⁸¹ Nestorian and Nestorianism are contentious terms around which there is debate. A more appropriate term to refer to the movement is the “Church of the East,” however, other related terminology may also be used, Dietmar W. Winkler, for instance regards the term the “Apostolic Church of the East,” as the most useful. This term is a shortened version of the official name the “Holy Apostolic Assyrian Church of the East.” Winkler also notes that “East Syriac Church,” could be used as a useful alternative. Baum and Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, 3-5. Where appropriate this chapter uses the Chinese and Japanese terms 景教 (*Jǐngjiào* and *Keikyō* respectively), often translated as the “Luminous Religion” or “Religion of Light”. This term was taken the Nestorian Stele (C. *Dàqín Jǐngjiào liúxíng Zhōngguó bēi* 大秦景教流行中國碑) erected in Xī'ān 西安 in 781CE, which has since been used to refer to the Church of the East in Japan.

Such theories are contentious riddled with confused, speculative and sometimes conspiratorial claims, they are often reliant on outdated methodology and to their detriment have lacked rigorous critical attention.¹³⁸² In modern scholarship these theories arose in the work of P. Y. Saeki,¹³⁸³ and although some post-Saeki scholars have supplemented his work with additional information and evidence, for the most part scholarship on the topic remains nothing more than a repetition of Saeki's claims. This chapter assesses Saeki's arguments and subsequent additions, seeking to problematize all suggested points of contact by arguing that they lack historically verifiable evidence. Despite this, the chapter also argues that theories formulated independently of Saeki's work by Alexander Toepel¹³⁸⁴ illustrate that a Yuán period encounter took place, although such an encounter did not result in conversion or a Christian mission. The final part of the chapter argues that these theories have been used in the 20th Century to destigmatize Christian conversion through the positioning of Christianity as central to Japanese history.

¹³⁸² Critical approaches to the topic include: Nakamura, *Nihon Kirisutokyō senkyōshi*, 20-33; Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 360-361; Morris, "Rereading the evidence of the earliest Christian communities in East Asia during and prior to the Táng Period," 252-264; Morris, "The Case for Christian Missionary Activity in Japan prior to the 16th Century," 109-137; Morris "The Figures of Kōho and Li-mi-i, and the Origins of the Case for a Christian Missionary Presence in Tenpyō Era Japan," 313-323; Morris "The Legacy of Peter Yoshirō Saeki: Evidence of Christianity in Japan before the Arrival of Europeans," 1-22; Morris, "The Presence of *Jīngjiào* in Japan as explored by Ikeda Sakae," 255-266.

¹³⁸³ Particularly the following three works: Saeki, "Uzumasa o ronzu," 168-185; Saeki, *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*; Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*.

¹³⁸⁴ Toepel, "Christians in Korea at the End of the Thirteenth Century," 279-289.

The Possibility of Pre-Táng Transmission

The first theory pointing to the possibility of pre-Jesuit, Christian-Japanese interactions was formulated by the first Christian missionary present in Japan, Francis Xavier, who believed that Nestorianism or another branch of Christianity may have come to Japan.¹³⁸⁵ He discovered a white cross amongst the belongings of a family, however, he was unable to conclude that this cross had a Christian origin, and therefore appears to have abandoned his theory.¹³⁸⁶ The possibility that Nestorians had come to Japan was also explored at length by João Rodrigues in his 1627 *Historia da Igreja do Japão*.¹³⁸⁷ It was not until 1908, when Saeki published the paper *Uzumasa o ronzu* 太秦を論ず¹³⁸⁸ that these theories (re-)entered scholarship.¹³⁸⁹ In *Uzumasa o ronzu* Saeki developed a version of the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory (*Nichiyu Dōsoron* 日ユ同祖論・日猶同祖論)¹³⁹⁰ independent of previous work on the topic¹³⁹¹ by arguing that the *Hata* clan (*Hata uji* 秦氏), who began immigrating to Japan between the 3rd to 5th Centuries common era,¹³⁹² were not ancestrally Chinese or Korean as indicated by the historical records, but rather were of Jewish ancestry.¹³⁹³ This argument was grounded in linguistic discussion regarding

¹³⁸⁵ Venn, *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier*, 185.

¹³⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁷ Rodrigues, *Nihon Kyōkaishi*, vol. 2, 222-262.

¹³⁸⁸ Saeki, "Uzumasa o ronzu," 168-185.

¹³⁸⁹ There appears to be no direct link between the theories of Saeki and Xavier.

¹³⁹⁰ The Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory is addressed critically by: Akama, *Nihon = Yudaya inbō no kōzu*.

¹³⁹¹ Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese: The Successful Outsiders*, 135-136.

¹³⁹² *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 10, Ōjin Tennō, Page 632.

¹³⁹³ Saeki, "Uzumasa o ronzu," 168-185.

the names of sites in the Uzumasa 太秦 area of Kyoto where the *Hata* had settled. First was the concept that the name of the shrine, Ōsake Jinja 大酒神社・大辟神社, originally built in the *Hata*'s temple complex of Kōryūji 広隆寺, referred to King David.¹³⁹⁴ Saeki argued that Ōsake was originally written using the characters Ōsake 太闢 meaning "large opening," the same characters used in Chinese for the personal name "David".¹³⁹⁵ Secondly, he argued that the names of small wells existent in the Uzumasa area known as *Isarai* 伊佐良井・いさら井 were related to the Chinese word *Yīcìlèyè* 一賜樂業 meaning "Israel".¹³⁹⁶ He did not claim here that the *Hata* were *Jǐngjiào* adherents,¹³⁹⁷ however because he did so in later works¹³⁹⁸ it has been suggested that Saeki's argument was motivated primarily by a conception of the *Hata*'s Christian identity.¹³⁹⁹

Several additions to these theories were made by Saeki's contemporary, E. A. Gordon, and later scholars. Gordon contended that that the characters used in the word Uzumasa matched the Chinese term *Dàqín* 大秦 (Syria or the Roman Empire) which was linked to the official name of Church of the East in China, *Dàqín Jǐngjiào* 大秦景教, as it had

¹³⁹⁴ Ibid., 183.

¹³⁹⁵ Ibid., 182-183.

¹³⁹⁶ Ibid., 184. More recently Samuel Lee has related the term *Isarai* to "Aramaic" words for "Israel" and "Jesus the Shepherd." His lexicography appears to be poor, as *Isa* and *Rai* are not Aramaic words. Similar words (*Īsā* عيسى (Jesus) and *rā'i/ra'ai* راعي (shepherd)) exist in Arabic, however, *Isarai* would not be a valid conjugation, and would more appropriately be written *Īsā al-rā'i* عيسى الراعي. Lee, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom: Two Thousand Years of Christian History in Japan*, 82.

¹³⁹⁷ Although some scholars have claimed that he did. Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, 136.

¹³⁹⁸ Saeki, "Kyokutō ni okeru saisho no Kirisutokyō ōkoku, Yuzuki oyobi, sono minzoku ni kansuru shomondai," 14-28.

¹³⁹⁹ Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype*, 65.

appeared on the Nestorian Stele.¹⁴⁰⁰ The same lexicographic mistake is made elsewhere notably by Teshima Ikurō in 1971.¹⁴⁰¹ Moreover, Gordon argued that the Hōkan Miroku 宝冠弥勒, the representation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (C. *Mílè Púsa* 彌勒菩薩 J. *Miroku Bosatsu* 弥勒菩薩) presented to the *Hata* leader, Hata no Kawakatsu (秦河勝), in 603CE and housed in Kōryūji,¹⁴⁰² was the image of a Mahāyāna Buddhist messianic figure linked to Christ.¹⁴⁰³ She also suggested that three headed statues at the temple were representative of the doctrine of the Trinity.¹⁴⁰⁴ The messianic link between the Hōkan Miroku and Christ bolstered with the suggestion that the statue is an ethnically Western or Central Asian as opposed to East Asian figure, has become a staple of the theories linking the *Hata* to Christianity.¹⁴⁰⁵ Further evidence to support the claim that the *Hata* worshipped a deity of Judeo-Christian origin was produced in the form of a story recorded in the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書記 in which Hata no Kawakatsu killed a man named Ōu Be no Ō 大生部多 for inciting people to worship an insect.¹⁴⁰⁶ Gordon does little more than juxtapose a biblical quote on idolatry with this story, suggesting some undescribed link between the two.¹⁴⁰⁷ Teshima, on

¹⁴⁰⁰ Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel; or Mahayana Buddhism and its Symbolic Teachings Compared Historically and Geographically with those of Catholic Christianity*, 128.

¹⁴⁰¹ Teshima, *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan: The Tribe of the Hada, their Religious and Cultural Influence*, 54-55.

¹⁴⁰² *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 22, Suiko Tennō, Page 1272, Paragraph 1.

¹⁴⁰³ Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel*, 128, 206.

¹⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 281.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Teshima, *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan*, 43-46; Young, *By foot to China: Mission of the Church of the East, to 1400*, 20; England, "The Earliest Christian Communities in Southeast and Northeast Asia: An Outline of the Evidence Available in Seven Countries Before A.D. 1500," 209; Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 64-69; Lee, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom*, 81.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 24, Kōgyoku Tenno, Page 1411, Paragraph 1.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel*, 132-133.

the other hand, attempts to use the story to illustrate that the term “Uzumasa,” meaning “Jesus-Messiah,” was the name of the deity worshipped by the *Hata* tribe.¹⁴⁰⁸ Independent of Gordon, Teshima also developed a number of new claims regarding the *Hata*. He noted similarities between Hebrew and Japanese folk songs,¹⁴⁰⁹ claimed that the *Hata*’s God (*Hachiman jin* or *Yahata no kami* 八幡神) was derived from the term Judah (Yehudah),¹⁴¹⁰ and argued that the three pillared *torii* (*Mihashira Torii* or *Mitsubashira Torii* 三柱鳥居, or *Sankaku Torii* 三角鳥居) at Konoshima Jinja 木嶋神社 was a Trinitarian symbol.¹⁴¹¹

Despite the additions made by Gordon and Teshima, and their acceptance by later scholars, growing discomfort with the concept that the *Hata* were of Jewish ancestry led to the development of several independent theories. In 1950, Ikeda Sakae attempted to establish that Christianity had arrived independent of the *Hata* clan during the reign of Empress Suiko (Suiko Tennō 推古天皇, 554-628CE), on the basis that the religion was widespread in China,¹⁴¹² perhaps transported by a Chinese immigrant.¹⁴¹³ He also argued that an Assyrian missionary known as *Mar Toma* visited Japan, where he died in 601CE.¹⁴¹⁴

¹⁴⁰⁸ Teshima, *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan*, 57-60. Teshima translates the song recorded following Ōu Be no Ō’s death as follows: “ウズマサは、神とも神と、聞こえくる、とこ世の神を、打ちきたますも。 - O Lord, our Uzu-Masa (Jeshu-Mesh’ach), How Majestic is thy name in all the earth! Thou art truly the God of gods, For thou has conquered the “eternal god (Tokoyo god).”

¹⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 20-23.

¹⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 37-39.

¹⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 50-54. Subsequently this was developed in the following works: Aprem, *Nestorian Missions*, 79; Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 75-80.

¹⁴¹² Ikeda, “Prof. Sakae Ikeda Named Resident Commissioner for Japan,” page numbers not given.

¹⁴¹³ Ikeda, “Japan Opens Arms to Church of East,” 11.

¹⁴¹⁴ Ikeda, “Likeness of Early Assyrian Bishop Revered in Great Buddhist Temple near Tokyo,” page number not given.

The presence of this figure led Ikeda to argue that Prince Shōtoku (聖徳太子 *Shōtoku Taishi*, 572-622CE) was influenced by Christianity.¹⁴¹⁵ This argument has been expanded upon by a number of scholars who refer to linked legendary accounts, and Prince Shōtoku's "Constitution" and welfare work which are seen as exclusively Christian or combinatory Buddhist-Christian works.¹⁴¹⁶ Despite this, correspondence recorded by Ken Joseph Sr. and Ken Joseph Jr. suggest that Ikeda eventually came to rely on the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory in his approach.¹⁴¹⁷ Following Ikeda, in 1963 Mario Marega argued that the *Hata* were of Syrian rather than Jewish ancestry.¹⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, he claimed that Kōryūji was originally a Church, but following its destruction in a fire in 818CE had become a Buddhist temple leading the *Hata* to accept Tendai Buddhism (*Tendai shū* 天台宗), which he claims was a combination of Buddhism, Manicheism and Christianity.¹⁴¹⁹ Marega's argument was accepted by later scholars who attempted to link the claim that Kōryūji was a Church with the claim that the word "Uzumasa" on parts of the temple¹⁴²⁰ is identical to the Chinese word *Dàqín*.¹⁴²¹ Even with attempts to separate the concept of a pre-Táng Christian-Japanese encounter from Saeki's Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory, all

¹⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁶ Kubo, "Prince Shotoku and Ancient Christianity," 1-5; Aprem, *Nestorian Missions*, 77-78; Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 110-112, 197-241.

¹⁴¹⁷ See for instance correspondence with Ikeda recorded in the work of Ken Joseph Sr. and Ken Joseph Jr.: Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 16, 69, 75-76.

¹⁴¹⁸ Marega, "Pre-Xaverian Christians in Japan," 43-44.

¹⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 44.

¹⁴²⁰ An alternative name for the temple is Uzumasa dera 太秦寺.

¹⁴²¹ Young, *By foot to China*, 19; England, "The Earliest Christian Communities in Southeast and Northeast Asia: An Outline of the Evidence Available in Seven Countries Before A.D. 1500," 209.

theories which postulate that Christians came to Japan from pre-Táng period China are indebted to Saeki's theories regarding the *Hata* clan, as illustrated by the fact that all material evidence produced to support the conclusion is drawn from the Uzumasa area in which the *Hata* clan settled.

Theories postulating the Judeo-Christian or Syrian origins of the *Hata* clan as formulated by Saeki and his successors can be dismissed as fallacious on several levels. The *Nihon Shoki* and *Shinsen Shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録 clearly describe the *Hata* as Korean (百濟, K. *Baekje*, J. *Kudara*) immigrants¹⁴²² who claimed descent from Qín 秦 Emperor, Qín Shǐ Huáng Dì 秦始皇帝.¹⁴²³ Although the accuracy of these records is questioned by Saeki, contemporary scholarship accepts the origins of the *Hata* as described in these accounts.¹⁴²⁴ Saeki's argument that the *Hata* were of Jewish ancestry cannot be maintained due to the lack of evidence required to establish the presence of Jews in China prior to the 8th Century¹⁴²⁵ and the failure of DNA comparisons to verify the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry.¹⁴²⁶ Saeki's philological arguments which provide the basis for all theories linking the *Hata* and Uzumasa to Christianity also fail to establish the *Hata*'s Judeo-Christian origins. There is no evidence in the historical record to suggest that the characters 太關 (Ōsake)

¹⁴²² *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 10, Ōjin Tennō, Page 632.

¹⁴²³ *Shinsen Shōjiroku*.

¹⁴²⁴ McCullough, "The Capital and its Society," 98-99.

¹⁴²⁵ Goldstein ed. *The Jews of China: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, vol. 1, xi-xii.

¹⁴²⁶ Entine, *Abraham's Children: Race, Identity, and the DNA of the Chosen People*, 162-163.

were used in reference to Ōsake Jinja¹⁴²⁷ and although these characters can be used to render the personal name “David” into modern Chinese, contemporaneous documents used the characters *Duō huì* 多惠.¹⁴²⁸ The lack of verifiable Jewish presence in China prior to the 8th Century makes a link between the terms *Isarai* and *Yīcìlèyè* (a term used self-referentially by the Kaifeng Jews¹⁴²⁹ who arrived during the late Táng or early Sòng 宋 dynasty (960-1279CE))¹⁴³⁰ problematic. Similarly, a Judeo-Christian origin for the term “Uzumasa” cannot be established. According to the *Nihon Shoki* the word was originally a title which stemmed from the filling of the court with silks as payment for taxation by the *Hata* leader Sake no Kimi 秦酒公 in 471CE.¹⁴³¹ The text thereby links the term “Uzumasa” (originally written 禹豆麻佐)¹⁴³² and *Utsumori masa* 禹豆母利麻佐 - the appearance of all being piled up so as to fill.¹⁴³³ The concept that the *Hata* or another group transmitted *Jǐngjiào* to Japan in the period is equally problematic. Whilst Japan had sufficient relations with continental Asia to facilitate the transmission of religion, as illustrated by the transmission of Buddhism in the period,¹⁴³⁴ there is insufficient evidence to suggest that

¹⁴²⁷ See the *Engishiki* 延喜式 (927CE) which renders the shrine’s name using the characters Ōsake 大酒 with a note stating that formerly the characters were written Ōsake 大辟. *Engishiki*, Bunken-name 9, Book 9, Page 5, Paragraph 1.

¹⁴²⁸ Morris, “The Case for Christian Missionary Activity in Japan prior to the 16th Century,” 123-124, n. 104.

¹⁴²⁹ Xu with Friend, *Legends of the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng*, 36.

¹⁴³⁰ Pan, “Jews in China: Legends, History and New Perspectives,” 56.

¹⁴³¹ *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 14, Yūryaku Tennō, Page 876, Paragraph 1.

¹⁴³² Originally pronounced: *Utsumasa*.

¹⁴³³ *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 14, Yūryaku Tennō, Page 876, Paragraph 1.

¹⁴³⁴ Buddhism arrived between 538CE and 553CE. The official account is given in the *Nihon Shoki*. *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 19, Kinmei Tennō, Pages 1132-1137. For discussion, see: Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion: With Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation*, 51-163. And: Sonoda and Brown, “Early Buddha worship,” 372. It is likely that individual Buddhists had also transported the religion to

there were more than a handful of individual Christians present in China prior to the formation of the Táng dynasty in 618CE,¹⁴³⁵ and no evidence of a Christian presence in contemporaneous Korea.¹⁴³⁶ It would therefore be highly unlikely for any immigrant group to subscribe to Christianity or for individual Christians to have made their way to Japan. Similarly, it is unusual given the presumed importance of their postulated faith to their identity and action that there is no mention of the *Hata*'s Christian religious identity in the *Nihon Shoki* in which they are conversely identified as Buddhists.¹⁴³⁷

In conclusion, all theories which postulate a pre-Táng transmission of *Jǐngjiào* to Japan are indebted to the work of Saeki. Whether scholars have accepted the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory or Saeki's philological arguments, all theories are tied to the concept that the Uzumasa area of Kyoto has a Christian history, and due to the area's link to the *Hata* clan, all theories are therefore also tied to the implicit or explicit acceptance of their Christian identity. Nevertheless, such a religious identity cannot be maintained, not

Japan before this period, for instance the Chinese immigrant Shiba Tattō 司馬達等 (C. Sīmǎ Dáděng) mentioned in the 12th Century *Fusō Ryakki* 扶桑略記. Tamura, *Japanese Buddhism: A Cultural History*, 16. A modern reprint of *Fusō Ryakki* can be found in: Kuroita, *Fusō Ryakki*.

¹⁴³⁵ Whilst there is some textual evidence that Christians arrived in China prior to the 7th Century, these references are late in composition, and the arrival of Christianity cannot be accurately dated prior to the Táng dynasty (618–907CE): Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 265-267. Glen L. Thompson has suggested that small communities or individual Christians likely existed in China prior to the formation of the Táng dynasty, and that the establishment of a mission there was motivated by the need to administer these Christians. Thompson, "Was Alopen a 'Missionary'?" 267-278. Nevertheless, although Āluóbě'n's 阿羅本 (commonly rendered as Alopen) arrival can be accurately dated to 635CE in Chinese documents, it is only during the 8th Century that the Church began to record its presence in China. Palmer, *The Jesus Sutras: Rediscovering the lost religion of Taoist Christianity*, 45.

¹⁴³⁶ Toepel and Chung, "Was there a Nestorian Mission to Korea," 29-35; Toepel, "Traces of Nestorianism in Manchuria and Korea," 77-85.

¹⁴³⁷ *Nihon Shoki*, Bunken-name 19, Suiko Tennō, Pages 1272, Paragraph 1.

only because Saeki's attempts to establish the Judeo-Christian origins of the clan fail on both philological and textual fronts, but also because the presence of Christianity in contemporaneous China and Korea cannot be established. Finally, it must be noted that whilst Saeki and others do not explicitly suggest that conversions to Christianity took place in this period, due to the lack of evidence for a Christian presence in Japan this possibility can be dismissed.

The Possibility of Transmission from Táng dynasty China

In 1911, Saeki published *Keikyō hibun kenkyū* 景教碑文研究, followed by an English edition in 1916 under the title *The Nestorian Monument in China*. Although *Uzumasa o ronzu* was included as an appendix to the Japanese edition, it did not feature in the English version of the text. Outside of this appendix, Saeki's attempt to establish the transmission of *Jǐngjiào* from pre-Táng China to Japan does not feature in the work which primarily focuses on the Nestorian Stele (C. *Dàqín Jǐngjiào liúxíng Zhōngguó bēi* 大秦景教流行中國碑) and *Jǐngjiào* in China. Nevertheless, he makes several attempts therein to establish a second point of Christian-Japanese encounter: the transmission of *Jǐngjiào* from Táng China to Japan. Saeki and his proponents have developed two theories to verify this claim.

In both texts Saeki notes that according to the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀, a Persian (波斯人 J. *Hashibito*/Perushajin, C. *Bōsīrèn*) named Rimitsui 李密醫¹⁴³⁸ or Rimtsuei 李密翳

¹⁴³⁸ In Chinese pinyin, *Rimitsui* is pronounced *Lǐ Mìyī*.

¹⁴³⁹ came to Japan as part of an envoy in 736CE (*Tenpyō* 8 天平 8 年).¹⁴⁴⁰ In *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*, Saeki argued that the term *Bōsīrèn* should be understood to identify Rimitsuei as an adherent of *Jǐngjiào*.¹⁴⁴¹ He bases this conclusion on contemporaneous usage of the word *Bōsī* 波斯 in Chinese documents, which alongside a number of suffixes referred to various aspects of *Jǐngjiào*, for example *Bōsī jīngjiào* 波斯經教 (Persian religion of sutras/scripture), *Bōsī jiào* 波斯教 (Persian religion) and *Bōsī sì* 波斯寺 (Persian temple).¹⁴⁴² This argument does not feature in *The Nestorian Monument in China*, where Saeki argues that a transcription error led to an incorrect rendering of the Rimitsuei's name.¹⁴⁴³ Rather than the Chinese *Lǐ Mì* 李密,¹⁴⁴⁴ Saeki argues that the characters of the name should be reversed in order to provide the Persian name *Milis* 密李¹⁴⁴⁵ which would have been unfamiliar to the scribe.¹⁴⁴⁶ Saeki then questions whether or not this *Milis* could be the same *Milis* mentioned on the Nestorian Stele, a priest and the father of *Yazdbōzīd*/*Yazdbōzēd*¹⁴⁴⁷ the

¹⁴³⁹ In Chinese pinyin, *Rimitsuei* is pronounced *Lǐ Miyì*.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Saeki, *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*, 14- 16; Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 62. The original document reads:

十一月戊寅。天皇臨朝。詔、授入唐副使從五位上中臣朝臣名代從四位下。故判官正六位上田口朝臣養年富。紀朝臣馬主並贈從五位下。准判官從七位下大伴宿禰首名。唐人皇甫東朝。波斯人李密翳等、授位有差。

Quoted from: *Shoku Nihongi*, Chapter 12.

¹⁴⁴¹ Saeki, *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*, 16

¹⁴⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴⁴³ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 62.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Rendered *Li-mi* by Saeki.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Contemporarily rendered as *Milis* or *Mīles*.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 62.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Rendered *Yesbuzid* by Saeki.

Chorepiscopos, the man who erected the Nestorian Stele.¹⁴⁴⁸ Later in the text he accepts that the two men are the same without providing further evidence.¹⁴⁴⁹ A further assumption present in both versions of the text is that this Persian was a physician,¹⁴⁵⁰ as indicated by the final character *i* or *yī* 醫 used in some versions of the text which refers to people in medical roles.¹⁴⁵¹

In the work of Gordon and Arthur Lloyd, Rimitsuei's medical role is more explicitly linked to a *Jǐngjiào* religious identity due to a perceived relation between *Jǐngjiào* and medical practice.¹⁴⁵² For Lloyd, Rimitsuei was a doctor active in Emperor Shōmu's 聖武天皇 (701-756CE) medical reforms, who he suggests influenced Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701-760CE) to nurse sufferers of leprosy, marking a moment of Buddhist-Christian collaboration.¹⁴⁵³ Gordon on the other hand, expanded upon Christian influence in the period by likening the *Taima Mandala* 當麻曼荼羅/当麻曼荼羅 created by Empress Kōmyō's niece, Chūjō Hime 中将姫, to Christian renditions of heaven.¹⁴⁵⁴ The entry of the topic into Western scholarship, and its development by scholars without Japanese or Chinese proficiency led to the false separation of Rimitsuei into two characters; one named Li-mi based on Saeki's rendering, and the other named Rimitsu based on the renderings of

¹⁴⁴⁸ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 62, 154, 175.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 62; Saeki, *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*, 15.

¹⁴⁵¹ Tōdō, Matsumoto, Takeda, and Kanō eds., *Kanjigen*, 201.

¹⁴⁵² Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel* 294-296; Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, 223, n. 1; Lloyd, *Shinran and his work*, 171, n2.

¹⁴⁵³ Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, 222-223; Lloyd, *Shinran and his work*, 171-172.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel*, 294-296.

Gordon and Lloyd.¹⁴⁵⁵ Simultaneously, Empress Kōmyō became viewed explicitly as a *Jīngjiào* convert.¹⁴⁵⁶ Following the work of Teshima, it has been theorized that a further member of the 736CE envoy, Kōho Tōchō 皇甫東朝,¹⁴⁵⁷ was also a Christian.¹⁴⁵⁸ To support this claim Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. argued that Kōho's role as a court musician was linked to *Jīngjiào* due to the Persian, Christian origins of Japanese court music (*Etenraku* 越天樂).¹⁴⁵⁹ They also argue that Kōho is referred to as *keijin* 景人 (an adherent of *Jīngjiào*),¹⁴⁶⁰ however, such a term does not exist in contemporaneous Chinese and Japanese texts. The father-son team provide several additional sources of evidence for Christian influence in the period, including a legend in which Rimitsuei reads the Gospel of Matthew to Empress Kōmyō inspiring her medical work,¹⁴⁶¹ and the concept that the title Kōmyō has a *Jīngjiào* origin.¹⁴⁶²

Like theories regarding the Judeo-Christian identity and origins of the *Hata*, the concept that Rimitsuei and/or Kōho brought *Jīngjiào* to Japan in 736CE or that there was Christian influence in the *Tenpyō* 天平 era (729-749CE) is problematic. The *Shoku Nihongi*

¹⁴⁵⁵ Pringle, "Japanese Buddhism in Relation to Christianity," 312; Stewart, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise: The Story of a Church on Fire*, 188-189.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Pringle, "Japanese Buddhism in Relation to Christianity," 312; Stewart, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise*, 188-189.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Sometimes rendered Kōfu, Kofu or Kohfu.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Teshima, *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan*, 60; Young, *By foot to China*, 19; Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 98-99; Lee, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom*, 78.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 98-99.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 100-101.

¹⁴⁶² Ibid., 102. See also the earlier reference in: Pringle, "Japanese Buddhism in Relation to Christianity," 312.

refers only to the duo's nationality, their membership in the envoy, and their receiving of undescribed ranks from the Emperor; there is no mention of religious identity.¹⁴⁶³ The character of Rimitsuei is absent in the remainder of the text, whereas the Chinese (*Tōjin* 唐人), Kōho, is mentioned a number of times in his role as a musician and following his promotion as Vice-Governor of Etchū Province (*Etchū no kuni* 越中国), however there are no references to his religion.¹⁴⁶⁴ The attempt by the Josephs to link *Etenraku* to Christianity lacks a historical basis. The accepted theory is that *Etenraku* had origins in the music of the Táng tributary state of Khotan, and was developed in China before being transmitted to Japan.¹⁴⁶⁵ Saeki's argument that the term *Bōsīrèn* indicated Christian identity is problematic, as there are no examples where the term is used in this way in contemporaneous Chinese texts,¹⁴⁶⁶ and it would be unusual in the context of the passage for only one envoy member to be referred to by his religious identity. Furthermore, the use of the term *Bōsī* with additional suffixes to refer to aspects of *Jǐngjiào* indicated only the perceived area of the religion's origin; following the realization in around 745CE that these terms were erroneous the religion was referred to as Syrian (*Dàqín Jǐngjiào* 大秦景教), a title also used self-referentially by the Church.¹⁴⁶⁷ Therefore, as the term *Bōsīrèn* refers to Persian nationality

¹⁴⁶³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Chapter 12.

¹⁴⁶⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Chapter 27, Chapter 28, Chapter 30, and Chapter 31.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Picken and Nickson eds., *Music from the Tang Court*, vol. 5, 119-122.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Confirmed through email correspondence with Max Deeg, October 20th, 2015.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Wilmshurst, *The Martyred Church: A History of the Church of the East*, 124. The first appearance of the term in *Jǐngjiào* documents appears to be the Nestorian Stele erected in 781CE and the *Sān wēi méng dù zàn* 三威蒙度讚 written during the same period. Nicolini-Zani, "Past and Current Research on Tang *Jingjiao* Documents A Survey," 35. Despite this, the term *Dàqín sì* 大秦寺 (Syrian church or monastery) appears to have been in use as early as 638CE. Lieu, "Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica," 244.

rather than Christian religious identity, little of Rimitsuei's religious identity can be confirmed. As a Persian, Rimitsuei could have subscribed to any number of religions including Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism.¹⁴⁶⁸ In fact, Itō Gikyō has provided a convincing case that the Japanese name "Rimitsuei" is derived from the Persian name Rāmyār, and that he was more likely Zoroastrian than Christian.¹⁴⁶⁹ Saeki's theory that a transcription error had taken place and that Rimitsuei was the Milis of the Nestorian Stele cannot be proven due to a scarcity of evidence. Although there is a possibility that they were the same figure due to their contemporaneous presence in the Táng capital of Cháng'ān 長安¹⁴⁷⁰ and their shared nationality,¹⁴⁷¹ it is important to note that Rimitsuei is not referred to as priest or missionary (usually 僧 *sō* meaning "monk" or "priest," sometimes 法師 *hōshi* meaning "Buddhist priest") suggesting that his role was primarily secular. Finally, the concept that Rimitsuei's potential role as a physician indicates his religious identity is problematic, as the practice of medicine was not the monopoly of *Jǐngjiào* adherents.¹⁴⁷² Similarly this role can be questioned, as the final character *ei* or *yì* 翳

¹⁴⁶⁸ Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 109-152; Brown, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire" 92-103. As well as a number of chapters in the *Cambridge History of Iran*, Volumes 2 and 3 (Part 2): Gershevitch ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*; Yarshater ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sassanid Periods*, part 2.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Itō, *Perushia Bunka torai kō: Shirukurōdo kara Asuka e*, 28.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Modern day Xi'an 西安. It is likely that Rimitsuei held a rank in Cháng'ān, to warrant his mention in the *Shoku Nihongi* and his inclusion in the envoy. Similarly, as Milis's family had the financial means to pay for the erection of the Nestorian Stele, it can be assumed that he or members of his family held rank in the capital.

¹⁴⁷¹ Milis is recorded as having come from the Persian city of Balkh. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 37, 40, 68, 96.

¹⁴⁷² *Jǐngjiào* adherents did influence medical practice and the transmission of medical knowledge, however, medical practice was not exclusive to a single group. Some useful studies include: Le Coz, *Les*

used in some versions of the text and favoured in modern scholarship¹⁴⁷³ lacks medical connotation.¹⁴⁷⁴

In conclusion, it appears that both Rimitsuei and Kōho visited Japan in secular roles.¹⁴⁷⁵ There is insufficient evidence to claim that either was a Christian or a missionary, or that Rimitsuei was Milis the priest. Without the presence of missionaries, the occurrence of conversions cannot be affirmed. The possibility that Empress Kōmyō was a convert relies on the existence of a great Buddhist conspiracy to transmogrify a Christian patron into a figure at the heart of the development and propagation of Japanese Buddhism, a claim accepted by the likes of Joseph Sr.¹⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, although a number of scholars have been able to illustrate similarities between Christian thought on the one hand, and the *Tenpyō* era medical reforms and Buddhist art on the other, they have been unable to prove Christian causation. Samuel Hugh Moffett's analysis is key; although a *Jīngjiào* presence in

médecins nestoriens au Moyen Âge. Les maîtres des Arabes. Le Coz, "The 'Nestorian' Doctors from the VIth to the VIIIth Century," 327-331; Retief and Cilliers, "The Influence of Christianity on Medicine from Greco-Roman Times up to the Renaissance," 259-276; Fu, "Medical Missionaries to China: the Antecedents," 45-54; Chen, "Foreign Medicine at Khotan during the Han and Tang Dynasties," 17-39. Salguero, *Translating Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China*, 23-43; Fan, "Migrating Physicians: Origin of Medicinal Science in the Tang Dynasty," 143-166; Chen, "The Imperial Medical office and the Transformation of Identities of Aristocratic Physicians from the Late Six Dynasties through the Early Tang," 73-98.

¹⁴⁷³ These compilations include: Kokushi Daikei Henshūkai ed., *Shoku Nihongi: Mae Hen*, 141; Imaizumi ed., *Kundoku: Shoku Nihongi*, 294; Dainippon Bunko Kokushi Hen ed., *Shoku Nihongi: Jōkan*, 273. Saeki Ariyoshi and Itō Gikyō believe this to be the original character used. Saeki, *Zōho Rikkokushi*, 259; Itō, *Perushia Bunka torai kō*, 28. Older versions of the text favour the character *i* or *yī* 醫 but include *ei* or *yī* 醫 as a variant. Keizai Zasshi Sha ed., *Kokushi Daikei: Dainikan*, 203; *Shoku Nihongi* (1657), Book 6, no page numbers given; *Shoku Nihongi* (Waseda Scanned Documents Collection 10, Image 39).

¹⁴⁷⁴ Tōdō, Matsumoto, Takeda, and Kanō eds., *Kanjigen*, 1277.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Nakamura and Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, "Tōjin 'Kōho Tōchō' no na wo shirushita doki."; Yano, "Kenntōshi to rainichi 'Tōjin' Kōho Tōchō wo chūshin toshite," 129-141.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Joseph, "Japan's Jizo and Jesus," 8-9.

Japan can be conjectured due to the Japanese tendency to model itself on China¹⁴⁷⁷ where Christians and Churches were present; these arguments based on less credible apocryphal stories are ‘pure speculation.’¹⁴⁷⁸

A potential *Jǐngjiào* mission is not the primary focus of Saeki, Gordon and Lloyd, who rather seek to illustrate that Christianity influenced Buddhism¹⁴⁷⁹ to such an extent that J. C. Pringle summarizes the scholars’ contributions as: the affirmation that Japanese Buddhism is nothing more than Christianity with different names for the Divine.¹⁴⁸⁰ For the most part the Christian influence on Buddhism is treated through a discussion of similarities between the religions’ theology and art, however, of pertinence here is the possibility that Japanese visitors to China saw the Nestorian Stele,¹⁴⁸¹ interacted with *Jǐngjiào* adherents, or were influenced by *Jǐngjiào*.¹⁴⁸² Saeki argues that the Stele stood for a period of sixty-four years from 781CE to 845CE, a fact confirmed by contemporary scholarship,¹⁴⁸³ and therefore that all Japanese visitors from Gyōga 行賀 in 784CE to Ennin 圓仁 (posthumously Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師, 793/794CE-864CE) who returned to Japan in 841CE had the

¹⁴⁷⁷ Tsunoda, de Bary and Keene, *The Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1, 52.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1, *Beginning to 1500*, 460.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 118-161; Saeki, *Keikyō hibun kenkyū*, 93-117; Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel*; Gordon, *Messiah, the Ancestral Hope of the Ages*; Gordon, “Kōbō Daishi to Keikyō to no kankei,” 51-67; Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*; Lloyd, *Shinran and his work*.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Pringle, “Japanese Buddhism in Relation to Christianity,” 311-312.

¹⁴⁸¹ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 82-92.

¹⁴⁸² See for instance: Gordon, “Kōbō Daishi to Keikyō to no kankei,” 51-67; Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel*, 88- 392; Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, 168-274.

¹⁴⁸³ Keevak, *The Story of a Stele: China’s Nestorian Monument and Its Reception in the West, 1625-1916*, 10.

opportunity to view it.¹⁴⁸⁴ Drawing on the work of Junjirō Takakusu¹⁴⁸⁵ and Gordon,¹⁴⁸⁶ he refers to a Japanese tradition that states that Kūkai 空海 (posthumously Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774-835CE) studied under the Indian Buddhist, Prajñā (Bō Rě 般若).¹⁴⁸⁷ Prajñā had translated a number of Buddhist texts alongside the Christian composer of the Nestorian Stele, Jǐngjìng 景淨 (also known as Adam),¹⁴⁸⁸ and therefore Saeki suggests not only that Kūkai was influenced by Christianity, but also that he had transported some of these translations back to Japan.¹⁴⁸⁹ Taken to its extremity Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. argue that Kūkai had converted to *Jǐngjiào* in Japan, seeking to study it in China before establishing his own centres of *Jǐngjiào* learning in Japan.¹⁴⁹⁰ However, this again relies on an anti-Christian Buddhist conspiracy¹⁴⁹¹ and because a contemporaneous Christian presence in Japan cannot be proven, the conversion of Kūkai to *Jǐngjiào* lacks historical basis. Although there is some evidence to suggest two-way Christian-Buddhist influence,¹⁴⁹² illustrating the possibility of some minimal Christian influence on Japanese Buddhism, it should not be assumed that this was recognized by Japanese Buddhists nor should it reduce the Sino-

¹⁴⁸⁴ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 82-92.

¹⁴⁸⁵ J. Takakusu, "The name of 'Messiah' found in a Buddhist book; The Nestorian Missionary Adam, Presbyter, Papas of China, translating a Buddhist sutra," 1-8.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Gordon, "Kōbō Daishi to Keikyō to no kankei," 51-67.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 74-75.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 35-36. His source is "The Catalogue of Sacred Books and things Brought Over to Japan from China," [J. Kōbō Daishi Shōrai Mokuroku 弘法大師請来目録].

¹⁴⁹⁰ Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 124-125.

¹⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 125.

¹⁴⁹² Deeg, "Ways to Go and Not to Go in the Contextualization of the Jingjiao Documents of the Tang Period," 135-152; Chen, "The Encounter of Nestorian Christianity with Tantric Buddhism in Medieval China," 195-213; Chen, "The Connection Between *Jingjiao* and Buddhist Texts in Late Tang China," 93-113; Clasquin-Johnson, "The centuries-old dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity," 1-13.

Japanese religious environments to a series of completely blended truth claims. Max Deeg notes that the document referring to the joint translations was in fact a criticism promulgated by Emperor Dézōng 唐德宗 which resulted in regulations seeking to clearly divide Buddhism and *Jǐngjiào*, and the proscription of future cooperative activities.¹⁴⁹³ The edict was promulgated in 786CE, prior to the arrival of Kūkai, meaning that these translations were viewed as illegitimate during the visits of all Japanese Buddhists after Gyōga. It therefore makes sense that there are no references to *Jǐngjiào* in the work of Japanese visitors to China. The concept that Japanese visitors to China were directly influenced by *Jǐngjiào* cannot be established, and their visits and possible transportation of texts could not have resulted in Japanese conversions.

In conclusion, the transmission of *Jǐngjiào* during the Táng period is unproven. The evidence provided by scholars to suggest that Christians came to Japan is problematic, and it cannot be affirmed that Rimitsuei or Kōho were Christians. Similarly, attempts to illustrate Christian influence on Japanese Buddhism have failed to prove that potentially imported Christian concepts or texts were understood as independent from Buddhism, and for the most part succeed in nothing more than indicating unrelated similarities between the religions. In either case, the Japanese of the period neither experienced Christianity nor converted to the religion.

¹⁴⁹³ Deeg, “Ways to Go and Not to Go in the Contextualization of the Jǐngjiao Documents of the Tang Period,” 143-145. Deeg’s source text is: 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 (C. *Dà táng Zhēn yuán xù kāi yuán shì jiào lù*). Whereas the text which Saeki works with originally appearing in Takakusu’s paper is: 貞元新定釋教目錄 (C. *Zhēn yuán xīn dìng shì jiào mù lù*). Both sources were written by Yuán Zhào 圓照 (1221-1277), and are more or less identical, despite Deeg’s source having been written five years earlier.

The Possibility of a Christian-Japanese Encounter during the Yuán Dynasty

In 1935, Saeki published *Keikyō no Kenkyū* 景教の研究 in which he developed a third and final possible point of Japanese contact with *Jǐngjiào*.¹⁴⁹⁴ Like *Keikyō hibun kenkyū* a more restricted English translation of the text, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* followed in 1937.¹⁴⁹⁵ In these texts references to a pre-Táng and Táng period Japanese-Christian encounter were absent. Moffett argues that this absence illustrates Saeki abandonment of the theories;¹⁴⁹⁶ however, it seems more likely that these views were not featured due to an increasing amount of censorship in Imperial Japan.¹⁴⁹⁷ Such a conclusion is corroborated by his biography which includes photographs and descriptions of his teachings in later life, confirming his continued acceptance of his theories regarding the *Hata* clan.¹⁴⁹⁸ Similarly, the creation of a further point of possible contact and a continued focus on the joint-translations of *Prajñā* and *Jǐngjìng*,¹⁴⁹⁹ illustrate his sustained desire to establish the existence of Christian influence on ancient Japan.

Saeki provided two pieces of evidence for an encounter between *Jǐngjiào* in Yuán China and Kamakura 鎌倉 Japan (1185-1333CE). The first was an archaeological discovery; a helmet, now kept at the *Genkō Shiryōkan* 元寇史料館 in Hakata, that Saeki claimed

¹⁴⁹⁴ Saeki, *Keikyō no Kenkyū*, 975-983.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 444-447.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1, 468, n. 80.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Joseph, "Japan's Jizo and Jesus," 7.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Norimoto ed., *Saeki Yoshirō ikō nami den*, 314-315, 320-321.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 35-36.

contained a cruciform inlay indicating that the helmet was owned by a *Jǐngjiào* Mongol soldier.¹⁵⁰⁰ The helmet has been accepted as proof of the presence of Christians in the Mongol forces that invaded Japan in 1254CE and 1281CE by a number of mainstream scholars,¹⁵⁰¹ however, the poor quality of Saeki's photographs, and the absence of references to the cross by other scholars serves to problematize the existence of the cruciform inlay.¹⁵⁰² Similarly, whilst all scholars have accepted the Yuán period origins of the helmet, the helmet lacks features indicative of Mongol and Chinese helmet design in the period. Conversely, its style which features silver inlay patterns, a 360 degree brim, a plumage holder on the front rather than the peak, and the general shape of a Cabasset, are typical of *nanban kabuto* 南蛮兜,¹⁵⁰³ and therefore a 16th Century origin should be affirmed. Online photographs taken at the *Genkō Shiryōkan* concur with such a conclusion.¹⁵⁰⁴ Due to such issues it is not possible to affirm that this artefact is evidence of a Yuán period Christian encounter in Japan. Second was the theory that a Uyghur named Guǒ 果 (alternatively 杲) present in the 1275CE Yuán envoy to Japan was a Christian.¹⁵⁰⁵ This was grounded in the

¹⁵⁰⁰ Saeki, *Keikyō no Kenkyū*, 975-982; Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 444-445.

¹⁵⁰¹ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1, 459-460; Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 12; Toepel, "Christians in Korea at the End of the Thirteenth Century," 281-283.

¹⁵⁰² For other descriptions of the Helmet, see quotations from Harada and Komai, *Shina kokizu ko: heiki* in: Saeki, *Keikyō no Kenkyū*, 975-976. See also: Zhōu, *Zhōngguó Bīngqì Shǐgǎo*, 306. For other visual evidence refer to: England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia: The Churches of the East before 1500*, xii; Young, *By foot to China*.

¹⁵⁰³ Robinson, *Arms and Armour of Old Japan*, 12; Ogawa ed., *Art of the Samurai: Japanese Arms and Armor, 1156-1868*, 24, 68, 97; Dean, *Handbook of Arms and Armor: European and Oriental including The William H. Riggs Collection*, 127.

¹⁵⁰⁴ This can be seen on a picture which includes a short information board. "Genko Historical Museum, Fukuoka, Photographs," Trip Advisor.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Saeki, *Keikyō no Kenkyū*, 982.-983; Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 445-447.

concept that *Jǐngjiào* Uyghurs monopolized scribal and administrative positions during the period.¹⁵⁰⁶ Essentially matching his argument regarding Rimitsuei, this argument sought to link nationality and religious identity. Guǒ is only referred to by his nationality in the *Kamakura Nendaiki* 鎌倉年代記 account.¹⁵⁰⁷ Therein he is described as coming from Xūnwèiguó 薰畏國, an obscure term with no obvious meaning, which Saeki attempts to link to Uyghur lands.¹⁵⁰⁸ Guǒ is absent in other historical descriptions of the envoy and their execution at Tatsunokuchi 竜ノ口 in 1275CE.¹⁵⁰⁹ However, he does feature in the *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* 新元史 which renders his name Dǒng Wèi 董畏 reusing characters present in the term Xūnwèiguó.¹⁵¹⁰ The *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* thereby suggests that rather than referring to a country the term Xūnwèiguó is a corruption of the character's name. These issues are further complicated by the fact that another envoy member, Sādōulǔdīng 撒都魯丁 or Chèdōulǔdīng 撤都魯丁, was possibly a Uyghur. He is referred to as a *Fuifuikokujin* 回々國人 (from the Chinese *huíhuí* 回回),¹⁵¹¹ which possibly indicates a Uyghur identity due to the contemporaneous use of the term *Huíhuí* 回回 to refer to residents of Southern Xīnjiāng 新

¹⁵⁰⁶ Saeki, *Keikyō no Kenkyū*, 982.-983; Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 445-447.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Takeuchi ed., *Kamakura Nendaiki, Buke Nendaiki, Kamakura Dainikki*, 53. It states:

四、書狀官薰畏國人杲（果）、年卅二

¹⁵⁰⁸ Saeki, *Keikyō no Kenkyū*, 982.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Umemura and Nemura eds., *Kamakura Hōjō Kudaiki*, 342; *Yuán Shǐ*, Chapter 208; *Dai Nihonshi*, Chapter 243.

¹⁵¹⁰ Ké ed., *Xīn Yuán Shǐ*, Chapter 250. It reads:

九月，北條時宗斬杜世忠，何文著，撒都魯丁及書狀官董畏，高麗人徐贊於龍口，梟其首。

¹⁵¹¹ Takeuchi ed., *Kamakura Nendaiki, Buke Nendaiki, Kamakura Dainikki*, 53.

疆. Nevertheless, the term also acted as a general description for Muslims.¹⁵¹² If both Guǒ and Sādōulǔdīng were Uyghur, the fact that they are referred to as natives of different countries is problematic. It is unusual to find mentions of scribes and secretaries in the Imperial histories, and therefore it is difficult to draw conclusions. Notwithstanding this, the Christian identity of Guǒ, like that of Rimitsuei, cannot be ascertained. The Uyghurs practiced several religions,¹⁵¹³ and although Christians and Uyghurs took secretarial and scribal roles in the Mongol administration,¹⁵¹⁴ it would be an historical exaggeration to claim that these roles belonged only to Christians, Uyghurs or Christian Uyghurs. In short, it is possible that Guǒ was a Christian, but this cannot be affirmed beyond speculation. Moreover, several issues present in the different accounts of the envoy with ascertaining details of his personage make drawing any definitive conclusions difficult.

The dismissal of Saeki's evidence for an encounter during the Yuán period, does not mean that such an encounter lacks historical basis. In his 2009 paper, *Christians in Korea at the End of the Thirteenth Century*, Alexander Toepel provides conclusive evidence that such an encounter occurred, and whilst Saeki's evidence features, his argument is not reliant on the truth of Saeki's claims. Toepel provides two primary pieces of evidence for his conclusion. Firstly, he illustrates that the Northern Forces of the second Mongol invasion of

¹⁵¹² Chèdūlǔdīng is thought to have been the first recorded Muslim to have visited Japan. Hosaka, "Japan and the Gulf: A Historical Perspective of Pre-Oil Relations," 7.

¹⁵¹³ Brose, "Yunnan's Muslim Heritage," 143. Ralph R. Covell notes that the extent to which Christianity was present amongst the Uyghur is difficult to ascertain, but that the population was enough for the Church to establish a metropolitan in Kashgar (C. Kāshí 喀什) with twelve associated bishops. Covell, "Christian Communities and China's Ethnic Minorities," 720.

¹⁵¹⁴ Lane, "Whose Secret Intent?" 20.

Japan in 1281CE were drawn from areas with a widespread *Jǐngjiào* presence.¹⁵¹⁵ These forces, under the control of the Korean Hong Dagu (洪荼丘), a direct subordinate of the Mongol *Jǐngjiào* Prince Nayan (乃顔), were drawn from Nayan's vassaldoms which contained a high number of *Jǐngjiào* retainers and adherents.¹⁵¹⁶ Secondly, Toepel notes that one of the commanders of both the 1274CE and 1281CE invasions, Xīndū 忻都, was possibly a Christian.¹⁵¹⁷ This conclusion is drawn from the fact that the name Xīndū was borne only by Christians and Muslims, and strengthened when it is noted that the appointment of Muslims to military offices was contemporaneously rare.¹⁵¹⁸ As such it appears likely that Xīndū was a *Jǐngjiào* adherent, although there is a possibility that he was a Muslim.

Whilst a Christian-Japanese encounter is therefore likely to have occurred through interactions with Yuán China, such an encounter did not take the form of a mission and no converts were gained. Rather, the Christians who visited Japan were military personnel and possibly ambassadors involved in the Yuán dynasty's attempt to bring Japan under its control. The opportunity to propagate *Jǐngjiào* was never presented, and rather adherents faced execution and military defeat.¹⁵¹⁹

¹⁵¹⁵ Toepel, "Christians in Korea at the End of the Thirteenth Century," 282-283.

¹⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁷ Ibid. 281, n11.

¹⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁹ Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 360; Kawazoe and Hurst III, "Japan and East Asia," 412.

The Contextualization of Theories and their Implications for Conversion in the 20th and 21st Centuries

That the pre-Táng and Táng transmission of *Jǐngjiào* to Japan cannot be proven, and that the Yuán period encounter did not result in conversions, reflect only the failure of scholars to establish a series of alternative truth claims, and do not indicate what the possible implications of these theories for contemporary Christian conversion might be. All texts and all knowledge are the products of and responses to particular contexts. Therefore, it is pertinent to explore the context in which these theories were originally formulated and the contexts in which they have been reformulated, not only to enhance understanding of the theories themselves, but also of their implications within those contexts, and particularly for conversion. The questions of why these theories arose and continue to be used in scholarship, and what their implications are, cannot be answered conclusively, however, reflection is necessary to suggest ways in which these theories may be understood beyond a true-false dichotomy.

During the late Meiji period (*Meiji jidai* 明治時代, 1868-1912CE), Japan experienced a triple context of modernization, expansion and Westernization. Her goals were to extend her influence internally, peripherally and externally, to create a wealthy state and strong military through industrialization and political centralization;¹⁵²⁰ trends traditionally viewed

¹⁵²⁰ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea: 1910-1945*, 20.

as Japan's turning to the West.¹⁵²¹ In academia, this led to a process of rediscovering the past through a criticism of the imperial records,¹⁵²² and the adoption of the Western academic tradition with scholarly publications being written for both Japanese and Western audiences.¹⁵²³ Scholars attempted to discover a history around which to build a modernized Japanese society.¹⁵²⁴ Saeki's work can be understood firmly within this context, but also as the product of his Christian mind.¹⁵²⁵ In his arguments regarding the *Hata* and Rimitsuei, he offers a rereading of Japanese history through critical engagement with and a rejection of the accuracy of the Imperial documents. The history he "discovers" is one in which Christianity has always been present. By suggesting that Christianity had been present in Japan since its earliest history, Saeki challenges the Edo period (*Edo jidai* 江戸時代, 1603-1868CE) ban on Christianity (originally formulated as a means to protect the Japanese religions)¹⁵²⁶ as invalid by virtue of Christianity's equal or predominant status vis-à-vis Buddhism as a religion which entered ancient Japan. In doing so he informs his Japanese readers that conversion to Christianity should not be stigmatized, but is rather something thoroughly Japanese.¹⁵²⁷ The pertinence of such a statement is clearer when viewed against the backdrop of Buddhist anti-Western and anti-Christian rhetoric in the late 19th Century,

¹⁵²¹ Hirakawa and Wakabayashi, "Japan's turn to the West," 432-498.

¹⁵²² Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan*, 69-70, 76-82, 117-126.

¹⁵²³ Hirakawa and Wakabayashi, "Japan's turn to the West," 432-498; Bamba and Howes, *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition*, 12-15.

¹⁵²⁴ Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan*, 22.

¹⁵²⁵ Norimoto ed., *Saeki Yoshirō ikō nami den*.

¹⁵²⁶ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 53-54.

¹⁵²⁷ The late Meiji period was marked by trends of the de-Westernization and "Japanization" of Christianity, which seem to be reflected in this aspect of Saeki's work. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan: From Conflict to Dialogue, 1854-1899*, 174-177.

which saw Christianity as anti-national and dangerous.¹⁵²⁸ Moreover, it suggests to his Western readers, that Japan in sharing in the history of Christendom is a nation comparable in grandeur to the European nations, and in European parlance not a land of “savages”. Saeki’s argument also appears to be linked to Japan’s imperial interests in China and Korea. He devotes a large portion of *Keikyō hibun kenkyū* and *The Nestorian Monument in China* to creating links, mostly imagined, between the histories of *Jǐngjiào* in China, with its history in Japan. In claiming this link between Japan and China, between Japanese history and sites and relics of historical importance in China, Saeki knowingly or unknowingly provides an academic justification for Japan’s imperial interest there. Finally, in developing the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory, Saeki created a ‘Japanese theology that eschewed Western models.’¹⁵²⁹ Although, Norman McLeod was the first scholar to develop the Jewish-Japanese Common Ancestry Theory in 1879,¹⁵³⁰ his work lacked popularity and there is no evidence that it influenced Saeki.¹⁵³¹ Nevertheless, the influence of the English scholarly focus on the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, seems to link the work of both scholars.¹⁵³² Saeki’s work contributes to, but also likely stems from pro-Zionist and pro-Jewish

¹⁵²⁸ Thelle, “The Christian Encounter with Japanese Buddhism” 234; Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*.

¹⁵²⁹ Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, 58.

¹⁵³⁰ McLeod, *Japan and the Lost Tribes of Israel*.

¹⁵³¹ Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, 60.

¹⁵³² Ibid., 60-64; Kowner, “‘Lighter Than Yellow, But Not Enough’: Western Discourse on the Japanese ‘Race,’ 1854-1904,” 103-131.

sentiment¹⁵³³ present in early 20th Century Japan,¹⁵³⁴ but furthermore seeks to express a rejection of European culture and independence from whites.¹⁵³⁵

As illustrated, Saeki's thoughts were also influenced by the work and knowledge base of his contemporaries E. A. Gordon and Arthur Lloyd who in turn developed his work. Both were Christian missionaries to Japan, who alongside Saeki subscribed to Anglicanism, however, unlike Saeki were firmly part of the European scholarly tradition. Contemporaneous European scholarship on Asia was marked with an Orientalism which viewed European, Christian "culture" and knowledge as superior to other forms of knowledge or even the only form of knowledge.¹⁵³⁶ Gordon and Lloyd were concerned with illustrating the all-encompassing effect of Christianity on world history, as the central doctrine in the history of all civilizations, and therefore they sought to show its influence on Japan also. Like Saeki, this helped them to justify their own missionary work and the conversion of the Japanese, as something with historical precedent, or something normative. Perhaps this also acted as an attempt to protect converts from criticism, doubt, and apostasy. Deeg has noted how Orientalism marks Saeki's work on China, in which he seeks to retrieve as many Christian concepts as possible from Chinese texts.¹⁵³⁷ Similarly,

¹⁵³³ Anti-Semitism existed in Japan, however, in the early 20th Century the Jews that these views applied to were Jews living in the West and anti-Semitic theories, therefore, had little relevance to Jews living in Japanese territories. Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, 166.

¹⁵³⁴ Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, 151-163.

¹⁵³⁵ Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, 63-64.

¹⁵³⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, 32.

¹⁵³⁷ Deeg, "Ways to Go and Not to Go in the Contextualization of the Jingjiao Documents of the Tang Period," 136.

his attempt to illustrate that Christians came to pre-16th Century Japan, shows a desire to read Japanese history as if it was also under the complete influence of Christianity and Christians. Such a feature is also indicative of Gordon and Lloyd's work. It was this Orientalism alongside contemporaneous historiographical methods that led to the erroneous nature of Gordon and Lloyd's work, and although such a charge can also be made of Saeki, his uncritical approach and mistakes also stem from his rush to publish.¹⁵³⁸ These authors mutually influenced each other, for instance Saeki's work inspiring Gordon to develop the Japanese Jewish Common Ancestry Theory.¹⁵³⁹

This chapter suggested that the absence of Saeki's claims regarding the *Hata* and *Rimitsuei* in his works *Keikyō no Kenkyū* and *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* reflected increasing censorship in Imperial Japan, however, perhaps such changes also reflect a change in Saeki's context. Japan had succeeded in her Meiji period goals of modernizing and expanding overseas, discovering a history around which to build herself, therefore, the rereading of Japanese history central to Saeki's earlier work was no longer a necessary aspect of contemporaneous historiography. The 1930s were marked by the government's efforts to bring Christianity under its control, leading Christians to seek to show their support for the government by evangelizing in Japan's growing Empire.¹⁵⁴⁰ Saeki's focus therefore shifted away from conversion within Japan, to conversion outside

¹⁵³⁸ Moule, *Nestorians in China: Some Corrections and Additions*, 5.

¹⁵³⁹ Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, 137-138.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Ion, "The Cross under an Imperial Sun: Imperialism, Nationalism, and Japanese Christianity, 1895-1945," 88.

Japan in her colonies. In this way, the Japanese-centric focus of Saeki's earlier work which sought to ease and justify Christian conversion there, shifted solely onto the justification of the evangelization to and conversion of Japan's Chinese, Korean and Manchurian subjects. Simultaneously, China became a popular focus of research,¹⁵⁴¹ and therefore such a shift also reflects a will on the part of the Japanese academics, including Saeki, to rewrite the histories of their colonies. His movement away from the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry during this later period of writing may also have been influenced by the growing popularity of anti-Semitic views in late 1930s Imperial Japan.¹⁵⁴²

Several of Saeki's successors, namely Mario Marega, John M. L. Young, Mar Aprem, Samuel Lee and John C. England, seem for the most part to regurgitate Saeki's work alongside the mistakes of Pringle and Stewart with only minor changes and without criticism or exploration of Saeki's sources. As in the case of Gordon and Lloyd, Marega,¹⁵⁴³ Young¹⁵⁴⁴ and Aprem's¹⁵⁴⁵ work is linked to their individual missions seeking to justify conversion in Japan and Asia more generally as a process with historical precedent. These scholars were unable to abandon the Orientalist baggage of their predecessors, and their work remains marked by the concept of an all-encompassing global Christian history. Other than Marega,

¹⁵⁴¹ Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, 228-262.

¹⁵⁴² Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, 171-177.

¹⁵⁴³ Marega (1902-1978CE) was an Italian Jesuit priest who worked in Japan. He refers to Nestorianism in Japan in a short paper, originally published in 1963. Marega, "Pre-Xaverian Christians in Japan," 44-45.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Young was a Canadian Presbyterian missionary and academic who spent time in Manchuria and China but chose Japan as the main target of his mission.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Aprem is a scholar, and head of the Holy Apostolic Catholic Church of the East in India.

whose work consists of a short paper on the topic, these scholars refer to Nestorianism in Japan within much longer histories on Nestorianism in Asia, in which the topic acts as a footnote rather than the subject of detailed critical discussion. This lack of critical interaction with Saeki's arguments and sources has contributed to the theories' continued employment as fact in the works of later scholars and more general works on the history of world Christianity.¹⁵⁴⁶

Sakae Ikeda's development of Saeki's theories is intimately linked to his mission to "re-establish" the Church of the East in Japan. He was one of the few staff members to retain his position at Kyoto University's Law Department following the *Takigawa* Incident (*Takigawa jiken* 滝川事件) in 1933, but lost his position following Japan's defeat in WWII in 1946.¹⁵⁴⁷ His letters regularly appeared in the Church of the East¹⁵⁴⁸ publication, *Light from the East*, and it is noteworthy that following his re-entry into steady employment, his letters became less frequent and eventually ceased to be published altogether.¹⁵⁴⁹ Aprem notes that Ikeda continued a personal mission following the end of these publications;¹⁵⁵⁰

¹⁵⁴⁶ See for instance: Hiyane, *Kirisutokyō no Nihonteki tenkai*, 3-5.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Matsuo, "Takigawa jiken izen – Kyōto daigaku hōgakubu saiken mondai," 10-11.

¹⁵⁴⁸ The Apostolic Church of the East had relocated its headquarters to Chicago following the Assyrian Diaspora, and was consolidating itself between 1948 and 1968. Coakley, "The Church of the East since 1914," 179-198.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Although some issues are missing from the recent reprint self-published through the publishing company Lulu by the Patriarchal Council, Inc. of the Church of the East of *Light from the East*, it appears that apart from the August-September 1949 issue, there are articles on Ikeda's mission in Japan in every issue of *Light from the East* from June-July 1949 onwards. However, following his appointment to teach a lecture series at Kansai University in May 1950 noted in the June-July 1950 issue of *Light from the East*, articles on Japan become more sporadic, featuring only in the December 1950-January 1951, April-May 1951 and June-July 1951 issues before disappearing from the publication completely.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Aprem, *Nestorian Missions*, 81.

however, there is no record that the 800 people awaiting baptism in the Church ever received baptism or that congregations were organized,¹⁵⁵¹ although Ikeda's letter in the April-May 1951 issue suggests that members did meet together.¹⁵⁵² Despite the possible presence of 800 potential converts and interested parties, including an English teacher, Fumiko Murata,¹⁵⁵³ and the ex-chief of a town ward, Mr. Tanaka,¹⁵⁵⁴ the possible implications of Ikeda's work are wider than this handful of possible converts and the publication of a series of letters in an obscure journal.

Following WWII, Christianity underwent a period of growth;¹⁵⁵⁵ however, the continued reliance on conservative theologies meant that the religion failed to establish a role in post-wartime politics.¹⁵⁵⁶ Furthermore, the period was marked by secularization resulting from the criticism of the involvement of Japan's traditional religious institutions in the War. Within this context of social upheaval, Japan again sought to discover a system around which to re-build the nation, and were provided with an American model, in which religious freedom was a central tenet, to fit this need.¹⁵⁵⁷ Christianity sought to re-establish itself following its decline during the 1940s, but retained a foreign identity through being tied to foreign missionaries.¹⁵⁵⁸ In this context, it would be simplistic to understand Ikeda's

¹⁵⁵¹ Coakley, "The Church of the East since 1914," 190.

¹⁵⁵² Ikeda, "Japanese Believers turn to Ancient Shrine of David," 4.

¹⁵⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Ikeda, "Japanese Christians Eagerly Await Day of Baptism in Church of East," page numbers not given.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 21-24.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Steele, "Christianity and Politics in Japan," 361.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, 280.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 283.

work as solely concerned with the “re-establishment” of the Church of the East in Japan, rather he appears to be seeking to re-establish Christianity in Japan more generally. Like Saeki, he does so by highlighting an extended Japanese Christian history, acting to normalize the religion and making it the property of the Japanese rather than foreign residents. That Ikeda did not convert to the denomination, but remained a clergyman of the Anglican Church, indicates that he understood this wider application of his work. Similarly, although the only records of Ikeda’s thought on the Church of the East come from *Light from the East* and short quotes in Joseph’s work,¹⁵⁵⁹ his primary audience is the Japanese, as illustrated by a number of reprinted Japanese news articles written by Ikeda in the aforementioned journal and his publication of a book in Japanese and English entitled *Nestorianism and Japanese Culture*.¹⁵⁶⁰ Arising from a context in which Christianity sought to recover from the World War II, it seems likely that Ikeda’s work, in line with that of Saeki, sought to create new system of knowledge in which Christianity was Japanese or was central to Japanese history.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Reprints or mentions of newspaper articles written by Ikeda feature in the October-November 1949, February-March 1950, June-July 1950 and December 1950-January 1951 issues of *Light from the East*. The publication of his book noted in the June-July 1950 issue, however, other scholars and I have been unable to locate a copy.

Teshima Ikurō whose work is directly descended from that of Saeki,¹⁵⁶¹ was the founder of the *Makuya* 幕屋¹⁵⁶² Christian denomination, which split from the *Mukyōkai* 無教会 in 1949, after the inclusion of Pentecostal elements in his Bible study group.¹⁵⁶³ The movement sought to recover an authentic apostolic Christianity, and after Teshima's visit to Israel in 1961, he began sending disciples to study there in order to learn the biblical tradition directly from Israeli Jews and experience the patriotism of Israel.¹⁵⁶⁴ Teshima declared himself a Zionist and the religion has actively attempted to strengthen Japanese-Israeli relations.¹⁵⁶⁵ Such a move was likely grounded in nationalistic ideals which sought to learn from Jewish models in order to avert the loss of Japanese national identity.¹⁵⁶⁶ Mark Mullins notes the importance of ancient Japanese religious for Teshima, and arising from this his focus on the early Imperial documents to aid in understanding the ancient Japanese spirit.¹⁵⁶⁷ For Mullins, Teshima sought to Christianize Japan's pre-Christian past.¹⁵⁶⁸ In this context, Teshima's *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan: The Tribe of the Hada their Religious and Cultural Influence* should not be understood as history, although it masquerades itself as such, but rather should be understood as a religio-political text. For

¹⁵⁶¹ Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, 160; Teshima, *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan*, 3-6.

¹⁵⁶² Three important surveys of the denomination and its beliefs are as follows: Caldarola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way*; Ikenaga, *Nihonteki Kirisutokyō no tankyū: Nijima Jō • Uchimura Kanzō • Teshima Ikurō no kiseki*, 64-84; Nagasawa, "Makuya Pentecostalism: a survey," 203-218.

¹⁵⁶³ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 120.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 120-122.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Parfitt, *The Lost Tribes of Israel: The History of a Myth*, 187-188.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 123.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

Teshima, this work is not about proving the presence of Christianity in ancient Japan, but rather the ancestral links between the Japanese and the Jews/Israelites. He does this as a means by which to strengthen his attempts to foster positive Japanese-Israeli relations, and to establish 'Japanese uniqueness through the authority of the Jews.'¹⁵⁶⁹ The presence of Christianity is only an afterthought in this work, helpful in providing Teshima's religion with a historical base in Japan, but ultimately less important than the political claim that the *Hata* were descendants of Israelites. Although, like the other scholars discussed, Teshima's claims affect conversion by providing a Japanese historical precedent for it, it appears that his goals here are more overtly theological and political, than the work of other scholars.

Modern use of theories that *Jǐngjiào* came to Japan continue to suggest that Christian conversion is a process with historical precedent, a process which is not foreign, but Japanese. However, in the modern political climate, in which Japan has become more insular and relations with continental Asia remain poor, these theories take on a new role. They act not to show the all-encompassing effects of Christianity on world history, but the influence of the Japanese on the history of Christianity. They attempt to show that whilst Christianity was present in China and Korea, it was Japan which had the most meaningful interactions with Christianity. Continued references to the Japanese-Jewish Common Ancestry Theory, seek to demark the Japanese race as unique in Asia, as superior to other

¹⁵⁶⁹ Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, 179.

Asians, and as part of the chosen people of God.¹⁵⁷⁰ This is not the overt message of the works of Kubo Arimasa,¹⁵⁷¹ Ken Joseph Sr. and Ken Joseph Jr., who continue to either attempt to politically strengthen the links between Japan and Israel, or alter the mission field by transmogrifying Christianity into a Japanese religion, however, such implications are clear when these works are read in the modern context and previous Euro-centric, Orientalist baggage is dropped.

Nevertheless, the scholarship of the Josephs' in line with that of Teshima, marks the movement of these theories into the realm of pseudo-history. Earlier incarnations of the theories had been formulated within a temporally accepted historical methodology, however, the father-son team of evangelical Assyrian-American missionaries have continued to use these outdated methods to make their claims. Furthermore, despite writing prolifically on the subject their major works are more or less identical in content.¹⁵⁷² Their expansion on the theories effectively pools all previous work on the topic, but does so using an outdated approach with focus on Saeki's pseudo-linguistics, a lack of reliable sources, and a reliance on legend, recorded conversation, and conspiracy. It is claimed that the theories of a pre-Jesuit Christian-Japanese encounter are commonly rejected because;

¹⁵⁷⁰ The concept of the Japanese as a chosen people based on the divinity of the emperors has historical precedent, and was used throughout the first half of the 20th Century as part of the narrative justifying Japan's imperial expansion. Ami-Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, 18.

¹⁵⁷¹ See for example: Kubo, "Prince Shotoku and Ancient Christianity," 1-5; Kubo, *Nihon to Yudaya unmei no idenshi*.

¹⁵⁷² Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*; Joseph Jr., *Ushinawareta aidentiti: Nai to gai kara mita Nihonjin: Kakusareta rekishi wo motomete*; Joseph and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta seisho no kuni • Nihon*; Joseph and Joseph Jr., *Irasuto shinpan: Seisho no kuni Nihon*.

it is unacceptable to claim that the Japanese blood line is mixed;¹⁵⁷³ the theories were censored in the pre-War period;¹⁵⁷⁴ a Buddhist conspiracy exists to take credit for Christian motivated activity in Japanese history;¹⁵⁷⁵ the Ministry of Education dictates what can and can't be written;¹⁵⁷⁶ and Buddhists have made a concerted effort to erase the presence of crosses on archaeological artefacts.¹⁵⁷⁷ Their claims not only rely on conspiracy, but also complete fiction as illustrated in the previously discussed example of the term *keijin* used in relation to Kōho.¹⁵⁷⁸ This movement of the theories into the pseudo-historical realm implies the discrediting of the theories in mainstream scholarship, but also likely indicates the impending abandonment of the theories as historically plausible, which is unfortunate given the fact that, during the Táng dynasty at least, the transmission of *Jīngjiào* is a historical possibility, but one which has not yet been proven.

The implications of Saeki's theories and their reuse by later scholars are far reaching; in the cases of Teshima and Kubo they gain political meaning, whilst for Gordon and Lloyd they illustrate the all-encompassing effect of Christianity on world history. Each scholar makes the pertinent claim, consciously or unconsciously, that conversion to Christianity is a deeply Japanese process, grounded in Japanese history. As such Christianity becomes not

¹⁵⁷³ Joseph, "Japan's Jizo and Jesus," 5.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 8-9.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 12.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 98-99.

the product of European churches, but one of the ancient Japanese religions, leading to the de-stigmatization of conversion.

Conclusions: The Real Church of East in Japan

Other theories exist and have been used to suggest that *Jǐngjiào* came to pre-16th Century Japan. Of importance is the theory that the Tomb of Christ (*Kirisuto no Haka* キリストの墓) in Shingō 新郷, Aomori 青森 is a remnant of a *Jǐngjiào* past,¹⁵⁷⁹ however, its history as a possible Christian site cannot be traced prior to 1936.¹⁵⁸⁰ Similarly, words of a Syriac or Persian origin present in Japanese¹⁵⁸¹ and the existence of blocks of incense at Hōryūji 法隆寺 which contain branded Sogdian¹⁵⁸² and Middle Persian inscriptions,¹⁵⁸³ alongside potential cruciform shapes¹⁵⁸⁴ have also been used to suggest interactions with Christians. Nevertheless, these things indicate nothing more than the influence of trade and migration along the Silk Road on language. During fieldwork I was unable to confirm the

¹⁵⁷⁹ Lee, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom*, 84-85; Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 173-175. Both the Tomb and the Festival are the village's Christ Festival (キリスト祭り) are explored at length by Okamoto Ryōsuke. Okamoto, "Feiku ga umidasu shinseisei: Aomori Shingon mura 'Kirisuto no Haka' no seichi kankō," 59-77.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Winfred Bird dates the beginning of the legend to 1935. Bird, "Behold! Christ's grave in Shingo, Aomori Prefecture." See also: Horio, *Kirisuto koroshi no shinsō*, 179-180.

¹⁵⁸¹ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 44-47. Saeki here draws on the work of H. A. Giles. Giles, *China and the Chinese*. A modern work on the topic is: Sugiyama, *Heian Jidai ni Nihongoka sareta Keikyō kotoba: Shiawase wo rikai suru kurosuwādo*. References to these theories also exist in the work of the Josephs: Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 46-48, 98-99, 193-196.

¹⁵⁸² Tokyo National Museum Image Search, "White Sandalwood Incense." Tokyo National Museum Image Search, "Sandalwood Incense."

¹⁵⁸³ Tokyo National Museum Image Search, "White Sandalwood Incense." Tokyo National Museum Image Search, "Sandalwood Incense."

¹⁵⁸⁴ Sayce, "Preface," vi.

concept that the *Jǐngjiào* text *The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Almsgiving: Part III* (J. *Seson fuse ron, dai san, C. Shìzūn bùshī lùn dì sān* 世尊布施論第三)¹⁵⁸⁵ or fragments of it were transported to Japan, and housed in the Temple Nishi Honganji 西本願寺,¹⁵⁸⁶ whose staff described this theory to me as an unsubstantiated myth.¹⁵⁸⁷ Moreover, all photographs of the Nishi Honganji document appear to be copies of Saeki's photograph of version of the text present in the Tomioka collection¹⁵⁸⁸ brought to Japan in 1916CE.¹⁵⁸⁹ Accordingly, this chapter has not discussed the possible truth and limitations of these theories.

Atsuyoshi Fujiwara's conclusion that the topic of Christian influence on early Japan lacks reliable materials,¹⁵⁹⁰ is indicative of studies of *Jǐngjiào* influence in and transmission to Japan during the pre-Táng and Táng periods. However, due to the presence of *Jǐngjiào* in China and ongoing Sino-Japanese relations the possibility of Christian-Japanese interactions during the Táng dynasty cannot be excluded. Almost all research on the topic draws on the

¹⁵⁸⁵ For a translation and commentary, refer to: Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 206-247; Nicolini-Zani, *La via radiosa per l'Oriente. I testi e la storia del primo incontro del cristianesimo con il mondo culturale e religioso cinese*, 246-263 ; Li, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christians in China and Its Literature in Chinese. Together with a New English Translation of the Dunhuang Nestorian Documents*, 168-181.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Teshima, *The Ancient Jewish Diaspora in Japan*, 60-62; Young, *By foot to China*, 19; England, "The Earliest Christian Communities in Southeast and Northeast Asia: An Outline of the Evidence Available in Seven Countries Before A. D. 1500," 209; Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr., *Kakusareta jūjika no kuni • Nihon • gyakusetsu no kodaishi*, 112-116; Soejima, *Kakusareta rekishi: somosomo Bukkyō ha nani mono ka?*, 62-63. Aprem believes the text was brought back by Kūkai and Saichō. Aprem, *Nestorian Missions*, 77-78. Lee believes it to be in Kōryūji. Lee, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom*, 80.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Fieldwork Notes, July 20, 2015; Fieldwork Notes, August 5, 2015.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 206.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 115.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Fujiwara, *Theology of Culture in a Japanese Context*, 161.

work of Saeki, with only minor additions. Yet, Saeki's work is dated. It is the product of an earlier way of producing history; of the late Meiji period schools of thought which sought to interact critically with Imperial texts; of Westernization and the import of Orientalist theories; and of Japanese Imperial interests in China. Saeki seeks to illustrate the influence of Christianity on Japanese history. Such an approach is innocent, it is confined to another epoch of history, but the mindless repetition of these theories without proper critical analysis has led to a blurring of the historical and the imagined. More research is needed into the possibility that Christians came to Japan in the pre-Táng and Táng periods, which dispense of Saeki's work as its basis. Only in this way will the topic be taken seriously in mainstream academia and lose its status as conspiracy. Despite this, this chapter has sought to suggest that the theories (read in the context of their composition), and their implications past and present are pertinent to understanding the thoughts of a school of modern Japanese scholars on Japanese Christian history and conversion. Contrary to Fujiwara, Mullins notes that Nestorians may have reached Japan as early as the 13th Century.¹⁵⁹¹ This chapter has sought to establish the truth of this statement, noting that these interactions did not result in a missionary presence or conversions. It seems, therefore, that there were only 'brief visits...as [Nestorians] faced execution and military disaster at the hands of the Japanese and the Kamikaze winds.'¹⁵⁹² Most importantly this chapter has established that all historically verifiable visits of Christians to Japan lacked religious character.

¹⁵⁹¹ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 12.

¹⁵⁹² Gillman and Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, 360.

The real mission of the Church of the East to Japan was a 20th Century enterprise. This mission was not only the academic attempt to construct a pre-European history of Christianity in Japan. Nor was it merely a cultural enterprise marked by the erection of a replica of the Xi'an Stele by E. A. Gordon on 21st of September 1911, at Mt. Kōya (*Kōya san* 高野山),¹⁵⁹³ where Kūkai established a monastery in 816CE, or the erection of a further replica in the Kyoto University Museum. Led by Ikeda as head of the Association for the Reinstatement of the Church of the East (ARICE), there was an active attempt to gain converts for the Holy Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East.¹⁵⁹⁴ Although some 800 Japanese were said to be awaiting baptism and leadership,¹⁵⁹⁵ and after the end of correspondence with Ikeda in the Church's journal, *Light from the East*, in 1951 the mission was said to have continued,¹⁵⁹⁶ the leadership failed to materialize and no recorded baptisms occurred.¹⁵⁹⁷ The mission thereby became a footnote in the history of the Church of the East, and outside of its ongoing presence as the topic of pieces of scholarship the Church failed to have an influence on Japanese society or history.

¹⁵⁹³ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, 11-12.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Ikeda, "Japan Opens Arms to Church of East," 2.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Ikeda, "Japanese Christians Eagerly Await Day of Baptism in Church of East," page numbers not given.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Aprem, *Nestorian Missions*, 81.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Coakley, "The Church of the East since 1914," 190.

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